

How the News was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême; or, The Pursuit of a Hare in an Ox Cart

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I *Prefatory*

Adémar of Chabannes (988–1034) of noble family, a monk in the monastery of St. Cybard (Eparchus) at Angoulême, compiled a *Chronicon* in three books. The first begins with the origins of the Franks and ends with the death of Pepin the Short in 768; the second deals with the reign of Charlemagne; the third covers the years 814 to 1030. The first two books and the first fifteen chapters of the third (down to the year 877) are wholly derivative from identifiable sources. But from chapter sixteen onward the third book provides valuable information chiefly on the period 877–1030 in Aquitaine, presumably drawn from local written sources and from the memories of Adémar's associates. These included notably his two uncles, who were attached to the monastery of St. Martial at Limoges, as was Adémar himself in his youth. It was at St. Martial that on a stormy night in 1010 Adémar had a vision in the heavens of a fiery Cross with Christ upon it weeping a great river of tears: an experience that rendered him so thunderstruck (*attonitus*) that he kept it secret in his heart until many years later when he was nearing the end of his *Chronicon*. Then he wrote it down. From St. Martial he returned at the age of twenty-two to St. Cybard, took orders, and spent his life in writing. The 'original' chapters of his *Chronicon* only occasionally evince any interest in or knowledge of events in France north of Loire.

It is the more surprising, then, to find Adémar on four separate occasions in these chapters suddenly interpolating passages that report with some gusto on Byzantine affairs and on an episode in the Holy Land. Adémar's editors have of course noticed these passages, as have the scholars who have wrestled with the exceptionally difficult problems of the *Chronicon's* various redactions and its manuscript tradition. But nobody has hitherto considered the four passages as a group or seriously asked himself where Adémar might have got his information. In seeking an answer to this question, one catches glimpses of human dramas—strange, affecting, psychopathic, and sometimes even funny. The study is offered with admiration as a small tribute to Steven Runciman, who has never allowed his erudition to obscure the humanity of his historical personages.

Adémar's *Chronicon* comes down to us in several redactions. Redaction H (Paris BN MS. lat. 6190, fols. 53–7), actually in Adémar's own hand, now incomplete at the beginning but printed complete in 1588 before the manuscript was damaged, includes only Chapters 20–66 of Book III. Redaction A (Paris BN MS. lat. 5927 and six other MSS.) includes all three books, as does redaction C (Paris BN MS. lat. 5926), which, however, draws on slightly different sources for Book I and altogether different ones for Book II. For Book III, which alone interests us here, C is occasionally fuller than H or A, containing interpolations that have baffled several generations of scholars and once even led to the suggestion, since rejected, that the *Chronicon* was not by Adémar at all. The Byzantine and Levantine passages, however, in any case differ comparatively little from redaction H to A to C. A fourth redaction, V (Vatican MS. Reg. lat. 692) contains certain passages also found in Redaction A, but none of our four passages. Some scholars have postulated the existence of still other redactions, now lost, to help account for variants they have discovered.

But new palaeographical research led Jacques Boussard, the most recent student of the problem, to conclude—plausibly—in 1957 that V was not by Adémar but was either one of his sources or derived from the same source. H, A, and C, however, are all by Adémar and represent his successive reworkings and additions as new sources became available to him. C is the latest but even H, the earliest, contains a late addition by Adémar

mentioning an event of the year 1030. 'An intelligent compiler gifted with a certain critical sense' who wrote 'nothing original' of his own: this was Boussard's judgment of Adémar as a historian. Much of the Aquitanian material in the *Chronicon* has by now been traced to Adémar's local sources, but the presence in his pages of news from Byzantium and the Levant remains unexplained.¹

1. The edition of Book III with an English translation announced as in preparation by B. S. Bachrach in *Speculum*, L (1975), 172 has not yet appeared. G. Waitz in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV (Hannover, 1841), pp. 106–48 published the first edition of the *Chronicon* in modern times, including the whole of Book III with all of our passages. The serious study of the manuscripts began with L. Delisle, 'Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXV (1896), 241–358, who recognized H as in Adémar's own hand. J. Chavanon, *Adémar de Chabannes, Chronique* (Paris, 1897), Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire [hereafter Chavanon] produced the only scholarly complete edition of all three books but made no new contribution to the study of the text. J. Lair, *Études critiques sur divers textes des Xe et XIe siècles*, II, *Historia d'Adémar de Chabannes* (Paris, 1899) [hereafter Lair] reprinted the 'original' portions, Book III, Chapters 16 through 66, with the three redactions H, A, and C in parallel, necessitating a rearrangement of the order of H, but enabling a reader to observe the variants at a glance and to appreciate the high importance of redaction C. In a long critical commentary Lair argued that there must have been a lost redaction, X, between H on the one hand and A and C on the other, and came to the astonishing conclusion that Adémar had not written the *Chronicon*. This was rejected by Ferdinand Lot, *Études sur le règne d'Hugues Capet* (Paris, 1903), pp. 350–60. L. Halphen, 'Une redaction ignorée de la Chronique d'Adémar de Chabannes,' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* [=BEC], LXVI (1905), 655–60; 'Remarques sur la Chronique d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Revue Historique*, XCVIII (1908), 294–308; and 'La Chronique de Saint-Maixent', *BEC*, LXIX (1908), 405–11, all three reprinted in *À travers l'histoire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1950), pp. 126–53, dismissed Lair's denial of authorship to Adémar as 'habilement déduite et spéieuse' (p. 137), but emphasized the importance of V and postulated the existence of still another lost redaction, making six redactions in all. J. de La Martinière, 'Essai de classement des manuscrits et des redactions de l'*Historia* d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Le Moyen Age*, XLVI, 3e Série, VII (1936), 20–55, published a study he had made some thirty years earlier proposing a stemma of staggering complexity and demonstrating that, in addition to his other known sources, Adémar had drawn heavily upon a local chronicle of Angoulême. J. Boussard, *Historia Pontificum et Comitum Engolismensium, Édition Critique* (Paris, 1957) has most recently come to grips with Adémar's *Chronicon*, whose relationship to *HPCE* is of great importance to him as its editor. I have accepted Boussard's conclusions with respect to the three extant redactions of Adémar and quoted

II *The four passages*

Immediately after reporting the accession of Louis IV as King of France in 936 Adémar says:

At that time the Emperor Nicephorus, who was bringing up the children Basil and Constantine at Constantinople, invaded the realm of the Saracens, took Antioch and other strongholds *as far as Tripoli*, and restored them to the Greeks. The empress, mother of Basil, feared that Nicephorus would behave tyrannically to her children, and while he was besieging Tripoli ordered that he be summoned by a trick, *for she had told him in a letter that the barbarians were besieging Constantinople, which was altogether false*; and on Holy Saturday while he was pouring forth his prayers *on bended knee* in the basilica of the sacred palace of Constantinople, she ordered that he *and four of his slaves* be run through with a sword. And to all the lords (proceribus) of the Greeks she pretended that he had suddenly died of an illness. The deed remained a secret for a long time until the chiefs (satrapae) of the Greeks became suspicious, opened up his tomb, and found his body run through with swordblades.²

Of course Nicephorus Phocas was murdered at Theophano's order not in the 930s but in 969, not at prayer in the imperial chapel on Holy Saturday, but in his new specially-chosen bedroom in the Great Palace immediately adjoining the south wall of the Church of the Virgin, between ten and eleven o'clock on the snowy night of 10 December. Adémar apparently does not know that the empress was married to Nicephorus. He does not mention her co-conspirator, John Tzimiskes, who was hoisted up in a basket from the dock of the Boukoleon onto the

his characterization (p. LV) of Adémar as compiler. The 1588 printing of redaction H of Adémar, made before Paris BN MS. lat. 6190 was damaged, is P. Pithou, *Annalium et historiae Francorum ab anno Christi DCCVIII ad annum DCCCCXC scriptores coetanei XII, nunc primum in lucem editi* (Paris, 1588) II, pp. 416–27 [reprinted at Frankfurt, 1594].

2. Book III, chapter 22, Chavanon p. 143; Lair pp. 136–7; underlined words in redaction C only.

terrace outside the palace and who personally participated in the murder. Adémar is wrong in thinking that the crime was hidden; it became public at once. But he does know that Nicephorus was the guardian of the two young princes, that he invaded the lands of the Muslims and scored successes, and that he was treacherously murdered. Quite possibly some of his personal guards were also killed, and this may be reflected in Adémar's statement that four slaves were killed with the Emperor. Perhaps the historic fact that Nicephorus Phocas had a special veneration for the Virgin and cried out to her for help when the assassins fell upon him as he lay on the floor wrapped in his bearskin (or panther skin) suggested to Adémar's source the version that the Emperor was actually at prayer when murdered.³ There is, then, an incrustation of ignorance and legend over the truth, but the episode as recounted by Adémar is not untrue.

Somewhat later, immediately after reporting the death of Hugh Capet in 996, Adémar interpolates his second fragment of Byzantine history, as follows:

In these same days, the Bulgarians rebelled and *severely* ravaged Greece, and the Emperor Basil became extremely angry with them and pledged himself by a vow to God that he would become a monk if he might make them subject to the Greeks. And after he and his army had striven against them for fifteen years, he became the conqueror *in two great battles*. In the end, after the Kings of the Bulgars Samuel and Aaron had been killed, not in open battle but by a piece of Greek shrewdness (*astucia*), he took over all their land and knocked down their strongest cities and fortresses, and everywhere established Greek garrisons against them, and for the most part took the Bulgarian people captive. And as he had promised in his vow, he put on a monastic habit after the Greek fashion (*Greca figura*) and abstained from sexual pleasure and from meat for the entire remainder of his life, even though to the external eye he was surrounded by imperial forms. Then he subdued Georgia, which had been

3. R. Guiland, 'Le Palais du Boukoléon. L'assassinat de Nicéphore II Phokas', *BS*, XIII (1952), 101–36.

rebellling for seven years, to such purpose that everything there was done at his command.⁴

Now this is a good deal better. True, Basil's first campaigns against the Bulgarians actually began in 986, ten years earlier than the death of Hugh Capet. Adémar, however, surely was thinking of the great continuous campaigns of 1001 to 1018 (seventeen years long rather than fifteen, but this is carping). True, Aaron did not survive into the period of this struggle, but it is something for Adémar to have known his name at all. True, one would hardly call Samuel's fatal collapse at the sight of his thousands of blinded warriors the effect of Greek shrewdness (*astucia*), but Adémar did know that Samuel did not die in battle. The huge number of Bulgarian captives before Samuel's death may perhaps be reflected in Adémar's statement that after it Basil took most of the Bulgarian people prisoner. The conquest of Georgia, coming at the end of Basil's life, is in its proper chronological place. And, even though Basil made no vow to become a monk, his personal asceticism is historic fact. After this digression on Basil, which has taken him to 1025, the end of the Emperor's life, Adémar reverts to the events of the late tenth century.

The third passage, which appears in redactions A and C only, comes after Adémar has told how Bishop Hilduin of Limoges, in accordance with a new law, in 1010 required that the Jews of the town either become Christians or leave the place. He instructed learned Christians to debate with them for a month, after which three or four Jews were converted and the remainder left with their families. In the same year, he reports, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by 'Nabuchodonosor Babiloniae'. Babylon is Cairo and the Nebuchadnezzar is the Fatimid Caliph Hakim (the actual date was 1009). According to Adémar, Hakim's violent attacks on the Christians were prompted by letters received from the Jews in the West, warning the Muslims that western European armies were about to attack them. Many Christian buildings were destroyed and many Christians converted to Islam but only three people—the Patriarch of Jerusalem and a youthful pair of twins in

4. Book III, chapter 32, Chavanon p. 155; Lair, pp. 161–2; underlined words in redaction C only.

Egypt—lost their lives as martyrs. The tomb of Christ itself and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem were saved by miracles. Adémar continues:

To the monastery of Mount Sinai *where there were five hundred and more monks living under the rule of their abbot and own bishop* there also came ten thousand armed Saracens so that they might destroy *the monks and tear down their dwellings and their churches*. But when they had approached within a distance of about four miles they saw the entire mountain burning and smoking and the flames were borne up into the heavens, *and the men* and everything *else* there remained unharmed. When they told this to the King of Babylon [Cairo, Hakim], he was moved by repentance and both he and the people of the Saracens greatly repented the things they had done against the Christians; so he gave the order and commanded that the basilica of the glorious sepulchre be rebuilt. But even though the basilica was begun over again it was no longer either in size or in beauty like the earlier one which Helen the mother of Constantine had completed at royal expense.

Adémar goes on to tell of a great famine among the Arabs followed by a revolution and the horrible murder of Hakim.⁵

It was surely the episode of the forcible conversion and expulsion of the Jews at Limoges that stimulated Adémar to tell the story of Hakim's destruction of the Churches, which in France was commonly blamed on the Jews: Radulfus (Raoul) Glaber, for example, tells a similar tale of the Jews in his own *Five Books of Histories* (completed soon after 1044) but gives far more details of the widespread persecution. He attributes Hakim's ultimate repentance, however, to the fact that his mother was a pious Christian who persuaded him to be converted. Adémar knows better. The whole Sinai episode appears in Adémar only. He knows that the abbot of the monastery was also a bishop, which had been true only since the late ninth century. It is a miracle on Sinai that reverses Hakim's policies, and the words of Adémar's account of it are a direct reminiscence of Exodus 19:16–18. All this reflects both a local

5. Book III, chapter 47, Chavanon pp. 169–70; Lair pp. 191–4; underlined words in redaction C only.

patriotism for the monastery on Mount Sinai, which was still dedicated to the Virgin though venerating St. Catherine. Like the source's knowledge of the inadequate reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the rest of the passage bespeaks a first-hand acquaintance with the Holy Land.⁶

The fourth passage occurs after Adémar has reported a Norman invasion of Ireland and Canute's accession to the throne of England and marriage to the Norman widow of Ethelred, Emma, sister of Richard, Duke of Normandy (1016). In this Norman context he turns next to the following episode:

When Richard Count of Rouen, son of Richard, ruled the Normans, a throng of them under the command of Radulfus came in arms to Rome, and thence, with the connivance of Pope Benedict, invaded Apulia and devastated everything. Basil sent an army against them, and after they had clashed twice and three times the Normans were the winners. But at the fourth encounter the Normans were defeated by the people of the Russians and laid low and reduced to nothing, and Normans without number were taken off to Constantinople and suffered in prison to the end of their lives. Whence there arose the proverb: Riding in an oxcart, a Greek catches the hare. (*Grecus cum carruca leporem capit.*) Thereafter for three years the road to Jerusalem was shut off, since, because of the Greeks' anger at the Normans, they seized and bound whatever pilgrims were found and took them off to Constantinople and there imprisoned and mistreated them.⁷

Adémar then moves on to discuss another Norman operation: against the Muslims in Spain.

The invasion of Apulia by Radulfus (Raoul) the Norman did indeed take place in 1017. The three Norman victories followed

6. Raoul Glaber, *Les cinq livres de ses Histoires*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1886), Book III, Chapter VII, pp. 71–4. The abbot of Sinai first appears as a bishop in the Acts of the Photian Council of 869–70: G. Hofmann, 'Sinai und Rom', *OCA*, IX (1927), 225 and notes; 'Lettere pontificie edite ed inedite intorno ai monasteri del Monte Sinai', *OCP*, XVII (1951), 283.

7. Book III, chapter 55, Chavanon, p. 178; Lair, p. 209; redactions A and C are virtually identical.

by a crushing defeat at Cannae in 1018 at the hands of the Byzantines now led by the new Katapan, Boioannes, were all part of the revolt of Melo, a rich Lombard of Bari, which had begun in 1009. Of Melo Adémar says nothing. In this respect as in most others his account once again is similar to that of Raoul Glaber. These two contemporary early eleventh-century chroniclers—Adémar at Angoulême, Raoul passing from one Burgundian monastery to another—obviously had access to similar sources of information. Both charge Pope Benedict VIII with the sponsorship of the campaign, both know of several battles between Byzantines and Normans. Less well-informed than Adémar about Cannae, Raoul continues his account down to the intervention of the German Emperor Henry II, and the siege of Troia in 1021–2, while Adémar stops in 1018. But Adémar knows one thing that Raoul Glaber does not know: that the Byzantine army which defeated the Normans on the fourth try included Russians, who, he says, won the battle. And this point—entirely plausible at a moment when the Varangian troops in Basil II's forces are already attested—is also made quite independently by the local Apulian chronicler, Lupus Protospatharius. As a reward for perhaps the sole contribution Adémar has so far been recognized as making to Byzantine studies, Jules Gay links his name with that of Lupus as one of the two authorities for the presence of the Russians at this battle. Recent historians of the Varangian Guard have overlooked this 'Russian' victory over the Normans, although it was long ago noted by Vasil'evskij, citing Adémar.⁸

Finally, there is Adémar's proverb, 'Grecus cum carruca

8. Raoul Glaber, Book III, chapter I, pp. 52–6. For the most detailed modern account of the events: G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, II: *Basile II, le tueur des Bulgares* (Paris, 1900), pp. 558–70, following Abbé Delarc, *Les Normands en Italie* (Paris, 1883); J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904), pp. 409–12, with Adémar cited p. 410, n. 7; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), I, pp. 52–7. No mention of these events or of the Russians, for example, in B. S. Benediktz, 'The Evolution of the Varangian Regiment in the Byzantine Army', *BZ*, LXII (1969), 20–4, or H. R. Ellis Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London, 1976). V. G. Vasil'evskij, 'Varjago-Russkaja i Varjago-Anglijskaja Družina v Konstantinopol'e XI i XII v'ekov', *Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvješčenija*, CLXXIV (November and December 1874), 130, quoting the Waitz edition in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV.

leporem capit', unique to his account of these events, unique to the written annals of medieval western Europe, but familiar in many versions to folklorists in modern Greek, Turkish, and other Balkan languages. The Italian 'Colla pazienza si prende la lepre col carro' is clearly a variant specifically recommending patience, the German 'Ein weiser Mann kann mit Ochsen und Eseln Hasen fangen' eliminates the cart and adds asses, while the French 'Pas à pas le bœuf prend le lièvre' eliminates the man as well.⁹ Perhaps the anodyne English, 'If at first you don't succeed, try, try again' or 'It's dogged as does it' provide our closest analogues. The proverb was age-old, and was obviously not born—*pace* Adémar—as the result of the Byzantine doggedness in the fray against the Normans in 1017–18, though it was indeed applicable to the victory of the Russian auxiliaries: on the fourth try they caught the Norman rabbit at last, although the Byzantine commanders had hitherto been moving by oxcart. And surely the proverb was supplied to Adémar by his source for the encounters between the Normans and the armies of Basil II.

From what source or sources did Adémar obtain our four passages? In 1936 Jules de La Martinière, wrestling with the problems of Adémar's text, in effect reconstituted from the *Chronicon* a lost chronicle of the region around Angoulême. And in 1957 Jacques Boussard noted that, if La Martinière had gone on to perform the same labour for other portions of Adémar's *Chronicon*, he could also have reconstituted 'fragments of a Byzantine history'. When Boussard drew his own stemma for Adémar's *Chronicon* he included as a source for all three redactions such a hypothetical 'Chronique byzantine'. But, since his own main task was to investigate the relationships between Adémar's *Chronicon* and the *Historia* of the bishops and counts of Angoulême which he was editing, and since his own interests lay far from Byzantium, Boussard made no further effort to identify this hypothetical Byzantine source.¹⁰

9. Baffled by this proverb, Lair consulted the noted modern Greek scholar, Emile Legrand, who wrote Appendix X, pp. 285–6, for Lair's work on Adémar. In casual conversation one day with Professor Constantine Trypanis, I quoted the proverb in English, and he instantly replied in Greek, *Mē tō dūdzī piánei tō lagó*, the precise words of the first variant Greek version recorded by Legrand.

10. Boussard, p. XXXIX; stemma p. XLIX.

Now we must try to imagine a ‘Chronique byzantine’ that knows of the murder of Nicephorus Phocas only from unreliable sources; is well-informed on the wars of Basil II with the Bulgarians and in Georgia but believes that Aaron had survived until 1014 and that the Emperor had actually donned a monastic habit; knows of the peculiar government of the monastery on Sinai and of the devastation wrought by the Caliph Hakim on the churches of the Holy Land but not of the inner workings of Fatimid politics; is aware of Russians in the Byzantine armies during the Norman–Byzantine struggle in South Italy in 1017–18, and dramatizes the outcome by the use of a popular proverb. Such a Byzantine chronicle certainly corresponds with no existing text. Moreover, Adémar knew no Greek and would therefore have had to consult such a text in a Latin version, which is also completely unknown. Finally—and this seems to me decisive—the latest event recorded in any redaction of Adémar’s *Chronicon*—as an afterthought—belongs to the year 1030. Basil II died in 1025. Adémar speaks of Basil as having worn the monastic habit ‘for the remainder of his natural life’, which implies that Adémar knew of Basil’s death. Even if we cannot be absolutely sure of this, Adémar did know of the successful result of Basil’s campaign in Georgia in 1020–3. Therefore Boussard’s hypothetical ‘Chronique byzantine’ would have had to be completed in Greek no later than 1023 (and probably 1025) and speedily translated into Latin and made available to Adémar in Angoulême by 1030. This will not do.

But if we adopt instead the hypothesis that somebody told Adémar these stories, these difficulties disappear. In 1841, Waitz said he thought it likely that Adémar had got his information on Byzantium and the Levant from returning pilgrims, certainly a far more plausible suggestion than Boussard’s ‘Chronique byzantine’. But would a returning pilgrim, a westerner of course, have known the Greek proverb about the oxcart and the hare? Adémar, however, went in person to the Holy Land. Could he have got his information while on his own pilgrimage and written it into the *Chronicon* afterwards? The answer must be no. He left Angoulême not before 1031 and died in Jerusalem in 1034. He wrote nothing after his departure and in his will he bequeathed to the Abbey of St. Martial all the manuscripts he

had left behind. So whatever is now in the *Chronicon* Adémar had put into it before he set out on his pilgrimage.¹¹

Let us, therefore, instead imagine an encounter after 1025 at Angoulême between Adémar and a Latin-speaking Greek, for whom the murder of Nicephorus Phocas in 969 had receded into a semi-mythical past, but who had some accurate information about Basil II's Bulgarian campaigns, Georgian campaigns, and Apulian campaigns, who venerated the monastic habit generally and had a special loyalty to the monastery on Mount Sinai, and whose tongue turned naturally to a colloquial Greek proverb when the story he was telling suggested it to him. The search for such a Greek takes us deep into the jungle of Adémar's other activities and forces us to deal with the dominating obsession of his life, which can only be inferred from the *Chronicon*.

III *The versatile egotist*

Adémar was extraordinarily versatile. Much of his work survives only in his own autograph manuscripts. In addition to the *Chronicon*, he wrote at least 234 sermons of varying length, mostly still unpublished. Moreover, he was a poet, a composer, and a draughtsman. In everything he did he manifested a deep and dramatic interest in himself.

All but seven of the sermons survive in Adémar's own hand.

11. Waitz's conjecture in *MGH, Scriptores*, IV, p. 108. Adémar's death recorded in *Chronicon Bernardi Iterii Armarii Sancti Marcialis*, ed. H. Duplès-Agier, *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1874), p. 47: 'In the year of grace 1034 there died Ademar the monk, who ordered that there be made a life of St. Martial in golden letters and many other books and in Jerusalem he went to Christ'. Bernard Itier (1163–1225), the author of this passage, was librarian of St. Martial in the early thirteenth century. The information is confirmed by a manuscript note in one of Adémar's surviving autograph manuscripts, Ms. Leyden Vossius 8vo 15, fol. 14 verso, which reads, 'This is the book of our most holy lord Martial of Limoges, from the library (ex libris) of Ademar the man of letters (grammaticus) of good memory. For after he had spent many years in the service of the Lord and at the same time in the monastic order in the monastery of the aforesaid father, when he was about to set forth for Jerusalem to the sepulchre of the Lord and not to return from thence, he left to this same shepherd [Martial] who brought him up (nutritori) many books over which he had laboured (sudaverat), of which this is one'. Published by Delisle, loc. cit. n. 1 above, p. 243, and cited by later students of this manuscript. See below, text and note 14.

Nobody knows how many were ever actually delivered. Many, perhaps all, never got beyond the pages of Adémar's notebooks. Yet the forty-six preserved in Paris, BN MS. lat. 2469 in Adémar's own hand, for example, are rich in vivid detail. Doctors use anaesthesia: they 'are accustomed to operate upon the inner organs of a man (*amputare viscera hominis*) by the power of herbs'. Infidels 'regularly carry around with them a powder made of the bones of dead men' and give it to people as a medicine. 'But whoever takes any of this powder instantly forgets God's truth and becomes like the infidels . . . and so falls into despair and can never return to the holy Catholic Church . . .'. Sheep and oxen are driven into a newly built church, locked in, and then expelled just before its dedication, in order to teach the lesson that a church must be kept undefiled. Repeatedly, Adémar argues vehemently in favour of the Peace of God and dwells on the horrors of excommunication and interdict that lie in wait for the hapless lands where it is violated. Hapless indeed, even when the Peace of God is observed: Norman invasions terrorize Limoges; Muslim raids spread ruin in southern Aquitaine. Famine, plague, and horrid portents in the heavens fill Adémar's pages, whether in the sermons or in the *Chronicon*. The 'Manichaeans' of Orleans who purvey the deadly powder are burned at the stake. A Jew at Toulouse, expecting to receive no more than the ceremonial slap customary at the Easter service, is instead struck so viciously that his eyes and brain start from his head and he falls down dead on the spot.

Adémar also wrote verse. To a miscellaneous volume in his own hand including texts of sermons, excerpts from the *Liber Pontificalis*, historical fragments, and the like (BN MS. lat. 2400) he prefaced twenty-four original hexameter lines. For the honour of St. Cybard he blossomed out (BN MS. lat. 3784) into a long poem of eighty heroic couplets, a further sixty-four lines of hexameters, and a series of seven hymns in a wide variety of metres. Mediocre as verse, and sometimes incorrect metrically, these efforts are regarded nonetheless as 'very precious, since they give us an authentic example of the way in which Latin poetry was understood and cultivated in the schools of Aquitaine at the beginning of the eleventh century'. All are in Adémar's own hand.

Everywhere he inserts himself into his writing. In the twenty-four-hexameter poem his own name appears in the antepenultimate line, which is now otherwise largely illegible. To the eighty heroic couplets addressed to St. Cybard, Adémar appends eight additional hexameter lines, also not fully legible but playing on his name 'Ademarus', which is spelled out acrostically no less than three separate times. In his *Chronicon* and elsewhere he takes great pain to tell his readers about his own ancestry: he was the great grandnephew of Turpin d'Aubusson, Bishop of Limoges, whose niece, Officia, married Foucher de Chabannes, Adémar's grandfather. Foucher and Officia had three sons. Adémar's father, Raymond, married Aldearda (Hildegarde) sister of Ainard, prévôt of Dorat, and of two 'most vigorous commanders powerful in body and warlike in spirit', while Adémar's paternal uncles, Raymond's two brothers, were respectively precentor (cantor) and dean and provost of Saint-Martial¹² where he was educated and had his vision.

The seventy-two hexameter lines of Adémar, *Versus Sancti Martialis* (folios 202r–205r of Paris BN MS. lat. 909) appear in

12. Sermons in BN MS. lat. 2469 analysed by Delisle, loc. cit. n. 1 above, pp. 276–96, with some excerpts also from Berlin, Lat. Philipp. 93, also autograph, containing many others. Delisle supplies references to the sermons published before his article appeared. See also one recent publication, M. M. Gauthier, 'Sermon d'Adémar de Chabannes pour la translation de saint Martial le 10 octobre,' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, LXXXVIII (1961), 72–83. Adémar's verse: Delisle, pp. 297–8, for the first poem from Paris: BN MS. lat. 2400, folio 1. In ll. 22–3 all that can be read is 'Almi patroni . . . Ademarusque/Alteruter, donante Deo, scripsere, sed ipsum', while the final line, 24, is wholly illegible. The collection in honour of St. Cybard is from BN MS. lat. 3784, fols. 99v–102 (Delisle pp. 323–32); it is his judgement I quote from p. 323. The metres of the hymns were identified by Léon Gautier as hypercatalectic dactylic trimeters, sapphics, hendecasyllables called 'phaleuces', dactylicotrochaic heptameters (Horace's metre for 'Solvitur acris hiems'), and catalectic trochaic tetrameters or trochaic *septenarii* (the metre of 'Pange lingua gloriosi praelium certaminis'). Moreover, Adémar's sixty-four hexameters in honour of St. Cybard appear in a slightly different fifty-three line version in BN MS. lat. 5321, fol. 17v (Delisle pp. 345–6). Adémar's family in *Chronique*, Book III, chapter 45, Chavanon, pp. 167–8; Lair pp. 187–8; and in Adémar's *Commemoratio abbatum Lemovicensium basilicae S. Martialis apostoli*, ed. H. Duplès-Agier, *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1874), p. 4. Lair, Appendix VIII, pp. 273–6 discusses Adémar's genealogy as given by himself in these two sources.

the manuscript with two different sets of musical notation, one in black ink and the other—later—in red. Once this was regarded as a polyphonic piece because of the presence of both sets of notations: these are now believed to be rather two variant versions of the melody to which the verses were intended to be sung. Adémar—it is convincingly argued—wrote in his own hand both the poem and the two tunes for it. That he was indeed a composer (notator) he tells us himself in the handsome troper of St. Martial (BN MS. lat. 1121) which he signed in the margin in red ink, ‘Ademarus monachus Sancti Marcialis’ and in which he twice—once in red and once in black—wrote three verses declaring that he himself had properly provided the music for the book: ‘hunc biblum rite notavit’. Just as the verses for St. Cybard were—Adémar says so himself—intended for the Saint’s vigil, to be sung accompanied by music after the reading aloud of the Saint’s *passio* in the church of his own monastery, so it has been suggested that the *Versus Sancti Martialis* were intended for the Vigil of St. Martial, 20 June 1030. Perhaps on that day Adémar’s *Versus* were not only sung but danced by the devout in the choir of the great church with the refrain, known later in the *langue d’Oc*, ‘Saint Martial, pray for us, and we will dance for you’. But perhaps they were never performed.

In the same manuscript as the *Versus Sancti Martialis* are two Offices, one for St. Valeria and the other for St. Austriclinianus, both—according to legend—closely associated with St. Martial (BN MS. lat. 909 fols. 79–85 v. 1.9) also in Adémar’s hand. The texts have recently been shown to be derived in large measure from two of his unpublished sermons as preserved in another of his autograph manuscripts, BN MS. lat. 2469. The melodies for these Offices are absent but BN MS. lat. 909 is defective. As the discoverer of Adémar’s transformation of his own sermons into these Offices has put it, ‘from what we know of Adémar’s talents as a musician and scribe, there is every reason to believe that he could have composed his own melodies and copied them into’ the manuscript. St. Martial was a great centre of musical education and composition, and Adémar, as its former *nutritus* and passionately loyal son, emerges as a competently-trained composer of his period.¹³

13. P. Hooreman, ‘Saint-Martial de Limoges au temps de l’Abbé Odolric’, *Revue belge de musicologie*, III, 1 (1949), 5–36 is the key article on the *Versus Sancti*

Of the sixteen known manuscripts or portions of manuscript volumes known to be in Adémar's own hand—twelve at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and one each at Berlin, Leiden, the Vatican, and Princeton—five contain drawings by the scribe himself, sometimes with indications of the colours that should be added in copying and illuminating them. By far the most important is Leiden, Voss. lat. 8vo 15, a miscellaneous collection of texts and scraps of texts. For Prudentius' ever-popular *Psychomachia* which Adémar here transcribed he drew eleven separate pages (fols. 37–43r) of lively sketches, together with an additional half-page elsewhere in the manuscript (fol. 2). In the same volume, he illustrated—this time on the same pages as the text—eighteen pages (fols. 195–204) of the Fables of Romulus, a Latin Aesop, scattering his sketches on the page before he wrote and then writing around and among them. He also drew several illustrations of constellations (fols. 172v–181v) for Hyginus' *De Astrologia*, and—independently of any accompanying text—sketched thirteen scenes from the life of Christ (fols. 2–4v) including, in Adémar's order, an Ascension, a Descent from the Cross, a Nativity, the Arrest of Christ, Malchus, *Noli me tangere*, the healing of the woman with an issue of blood, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion and the Kiss of Judas, the Transfiguration, the Doubts of Thomas, and—it seems probable—Christ before Pilate. In addition, there are pages (fols. 43v, 210v, 211v) of miscellaneous figure and animal sketches and even a brief passage of 'pseudo-cufic' letters used as decorative ornament.

The New Testament scenes are by far the finest in quality. They have many points of resemblance to the same scenes or personages as they survive on ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine ivories, which clearly served to inspire them. For Prudentius, Romulus, and Hyginus, on the other hand, Adémar had as his

Martialis, publishing the music for the first time and identifying Adémar as composer. For BN MS. lat. 1121 see also Delisle, pp. 352–3. J. A. Emerson, 'Two Newly Identified Offices for Saints Valeria and Austriclinianus by Adémar de Chabannes (MS. Paris Bibl. Nat. Latin 909, fols. 79–85v),' *Speculum*, XL (1965), 31–46, quotation from p. 43. J. Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1960) fits Adémar into the highly significant musical history of the great abbey.

models earlier illustrated copies of the same texts, probably Carolingian, which—it is argued—probably cramped his style. ‘The rapid drawing is often crude, but in spite of its awkwardness it is vivacious, and the figures, though stiff and dumpy, are nonetheless not static’. In the Prudentius sketches, ‘the battle scenes, the dance of *Luxuria*, and *Superbia*’s fall from her horse show . . . an astonishing skill in depicting motion. Sometimes the awkwardness of the artist itself even adds emphasis to the delightful (savoureux) dynamism of the attitudes’, says the most recent art-historian to have studied the Leiden illustrations. But neither she nor the other art-historians who have written about the Prudentius sketches comment on what is for us the most striking of them all, occurring at the bottom of the last page (fol. 43r).

Here a human figure stands facing us, full-length and in monk’s garb; his left hand is raised aloft, his right lies over his heart; he is rendering thanks. And above his head, just beneath the doorsill of the classical temple before which (in the sketch above on the same page) Prudentius’ *Scientia* sits enthroned, are the three words ‘auctoris gratiarum actio’. This is Adémar himself thanking God that his task as scribe and artist has come to an end, a figure without a prototype in Adémar’s models for the Prudentius sketches, whatever they may have been. So interested have the art-historians been, however, in trying to establish a stemma satisfactorily fitting Adémar’s Prudentius sketches into the tradition of earlier Prudentius-illustration that they have failed to comment on Adémar’s self-portrait. Yet this arresting bit of self-glorification is quite in keeping with his habit of inserting his name and his personal history into his own prose and verse.

Moreover, he did the same thing in the manuscript (BN MS. lat. 3784) that includes his verses and hymns in honour of St. Cybard. Here (fol. 99v) he filled a large initial ‘O’ beginning the word ‘omnibus’ with a half-length figure of St. Cybard. Seated on a cushion, the saint is nimbed and holds a book in his left hand and a crozier in his right. Both nimbus and book are lettered with his name (‘Eparchus pater’ and ‘Sanctus Eparchus’ respectively). From the right side of the frame there protrude leftward into the space on the Saint’s left four small faces, beardless and untorsured: the faithful. And at the opposite side

of the frame, protruding rightward into the tiny space to the left of the crozier in St. Cybard's right hand, there protrudes another, single head. This one is tonsured, bearded, and chubby, and is clearly lettered 'Ademarus'. Astonishingly enough, then, we have two self-portraits of Adémar. Like his work as a historian, poet, hymn-writer, and composer, his work as an artist testifies to his determination to attract the attention of posterity to himself personally. Anonymity was not for him.¹⁴

IV *St. Martial: the legend Adémar inherited*

Despite his veneration for St. Cybard, Adémar reserved his primary loyalty for St. Martial of Limoges. And extraordinary loyalty it was, in an extraordinary cause. Like many another local patriot in Aquitaine and other parts of Gaul as well, eager to promote the interests of his native city or cathedral church or abbey ahead of its neighbours and rivals, Adémar conducted a campaign to obtain recognition for his Saint Martial as an

14. The only study devoted solely to Adémar as a draftsman is D. Gaborit-Chopin, 'Les desseins d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, Nouvelle Série, III (1967, but published 1968) 163–225. On Adémar's autograph manuscripts, in addition to Delisle, and Hooreman and Emerson, loc. cit. (n. 13 above), see M. J. Vézin, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1965), 44–51 for Paris BN MS. lat. 7321; A. Betgé-Grezetz, 'Identification d'un nouveau ms. d'A. de Chabannes', *Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques et philologiques*, Philologie (1950), xv–xvi, for Princeton University Library, Robert Garret Collection, No. 115. On the richly illustrated Leiden manuscript (Voss. lat. 8vo 15), for the Prudentius illustrations see R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius Handschriften*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1895 and 1905), of which the second volume alone containing the plates seems to have been available to Miss Gaborit-Chopin. H. Woodruff, *The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1930) differs with Stettiner and has arrived at a stemma of her own, while Miss Gaborit-Chopin disagrees with both Stettiner and Miss Woodruff and produces (p. 176) a third stemma. Stettiner's plate reproduces the self-portrait but does not discuss it; Miss Woodruff omits it from her illustration, eliminating the portion of the page that includes it. Gaborit-Chopin, figure 4, p. 173 reproduces it and translates its Latin title into French, but fails to discuss it. The only mentions of it known to me are L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1893), I, p. 254 and P. Hooreman, loc. cit. p. 16. For the illustrations to Romulus see, in addition to Gaborit-Chopin, G. Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosa-Forschung des Phädrus* (Heidelberg, 1910) and *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Adémar* (Leiden, 1905); A. Goldschmidt, *An Early*

apostle—not merely the first missionary to Limoges—but an intimate of Christ himself and an emissary sent to Limoges directly by St. Peter. During the tenth and eleventh centuries similar efforts were made for St. Front of Périgueux and St. Eutropius of Saintes, to name only the saints of two cities near Limoges, as well as for many other saints in France.

At Limoges alone, however, legend was apparently forced into the local liturgy because of Adémar's own activity, more energetic and successful than that of any other known propagandist. The term 'apparently' reflects the fact that the record of Adémar's zeal and success comes down to us almost entirely in unique documents written in his own hand which must be used with extreme care. Adémar himself tells us that many of his own contemporaries contemptuously regarded his effort as a pious fraud. The Saint Martial affair precipitated

Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts (Princeton, 1947). For the Hyginus illustrations, A. W. Byvanck, *The Illustrations of the Aratea of Hugo de Groot and a List of Astronomical Manuscripts* (Amsterdam, 1949), pp. 169–235. For the second self-portrait, Gaborit-Chopin, figure 33, p. 209; Delisle pp. 322–3 and plate IV. *L'Art roman à Saint-Martial de Limoges, Catalogue de l'Exposition 17 juin–17 septembre 1950* (Limoges, 1950) included (No. 25, p. 64) this manuscript, exhibited open to the portrait with a brief description but no reproduction. The Leiden MS. was also included (No. 26, pp. 64–5) opened to two of the drawings for the fables of Romulus, with no mention of the Prudentius drawings or any reproduction. On pp. 43–7, Jean Porcher provided a brief sketch of 'Les manuscrits à peintures de Saint Martial' with (pp. 50–2) a few words on Adémar, most of whose sketches he regards as intended to serve as models for later illuminators. D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin* (Paris, Geneva, 1969) omits Adémar, having already treated him in her monograph of the preceding year. She was the first (*Cahiers Archéologiques*, XIV [1964], 233–5) to call attention to two sketches by Adémar, one of Charlemagne's tomb at Aachen (Vat. reg. lat. 263, fol. 235v) and the other of Charlemagne himself (Paris BN MS. lat. 5943A, from which the Vatican folio originally came). I have not thought it necessary to include mention of, or reference to, other manuscripts attributed at one time or another to Adémar, when the weight of modern scholarly opinion opposes the attribution. For 'cufic' script in western art, see K. Erdmann, 'Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters', *Abhandlungen der geistes-und-sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (1953), IX, 465–513.

bitter clerical and scholarly controversies first in the seventeenth and then in the nineteenth century. Only recently have learned men agreed that St. Martial was indeed no apostle in Adémar's sense. Yet so powerful has been the impact of Adémar's manufactured historical 'source-material' that even those who have led in its exposure have failed to recognize fully the power of his imagination.

Most of the time, it seems clear, Adémar was writing for his own private pleasure, imagining that the things he longed for had actually come true. Probably intended for the desk drawer, these dreams of wishes fulfilled become increasingly bolder as they depart from demonstrable reality. Yet documents written to prove the truth of imaginary events must establish their veracity by calling upon genuine witnesses: the more such witnesses a hypothetical reader could recognize the more likely he would be to believe the truth of falsehoods put into those witnesses' mouths. Only in the course of examining Adémar's chief writings about St. Martial can we discover where he learned about Byzantium and the Levant.

The genuine historical tradition about Martial begins with two famous passages in Gregory of Tours. The first (*Historia Francorum*, I, 30 written about 576) tells of the mission of seven bishops to Gaul in the time of Decius (249–251): Gatien to Tours, Trophime to Arles, Paul to Narbonne, Sernin (Saturninus) to Toulouse, Denis (Dionysius) to Paris, Austremoine (Stremonius) to Auvergne, and Martial to Limoges. Denis and Sernin, says Gregory, were martyred, but the others including Martial 'lived in the greatest holiness' and died only after converting many to the faith. Since Trophime and Sernin surely go back well before the year 250, the date is not an implausible one for Martial. Gregory's *Liber in Gloria Confessorum* (Chapter 27) provides more detail: St. Martial was sent as bishop to Limoges by the Bishops of Rome. After overthrowing the cult of the idols and filling the city with belief in God, he died. There were with him two priests whom he had brought with him to Gaul from the East. And when in their turn they too died, their bodies were placed in the same sarcophagus ('coniunctis sarcofagis': less likely meaning, 'in adjacent sarcophagi') and buried in the same crypt as St. Martial. Gregory then records three miracles wrought at the tomb for

pilgrims.¹⁵ As early as Gregory of Tours, then, the tradition existed that Martial and his two companions—still nameless—had come from the East, always a badge of reliable antiquity. There was already a flourishing cult of St. Martial, but the story was not yet current that he had come to Gaul before the year 250.

In accordance with custom, St. Martial and his companions were not buried in Limoges itself, but in the cemetery outside the city walls near the main road leading to Saintes. So the cult began and developed around a shrine somewhat apart from the city and its cathedral church of St. Étienne. The clergy who cared for St. Martial's sanctuary (Gregory of Tours calls it a basilica) were under a chief called a 'martyrarius'. As early as 804 a gift of land (Paunat) to St. Martial is attested. By then the crypt—which lay beneath a chapel called St. Peter of the Sepulchre—probably had two additional chambers, in one of which were the remains of a woman called Valeria, in the other that of a 'dux' Steven. In 848 the clergy of St. Martial organized themselves into a Benedictine monastery and in 852 a much larger new church was built. Though sometimes attributed to this Carolingian period, the development around the tomb and its shrine of a separate 'bourg' or 'château' of Limoges almost certainly did not truly get under way until more than a century later.¹⁶

By the mid-ninth century at the latest the legend of St. Martial began to be elaborated on the basis of the few clues provided by Gregory of Tours. The earliest 'life' of the saint (the 'antiquior') cannot be later than the year 846, since it exists in a manuscript (Karlsruhe 136–372—originally from Reichenau) partly in the hand of Regimbartus, who died in that year. This was first discovered in 1894. Partisans of St. Martial's apostolicity then

15. *MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* I, 1, new ed. (1955), p. 48; I, 2, new ed. (1969), pp. 314–15.

16. C. de Lasteyrie, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1901) needs to be supplemented by H. Leclercq, 'Limoges', *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, IX, 1 (Paris, 1930), cols. 1063–1167, repetitious, ill-organized, and to be used with caution. See also F. Rousseve, *The Romanesque Abbey Church of Saint Martial at Limoges, 1017–1167*, unpublished Harvard Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), and occasional articles in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*. M. Duchein, 'Les textes antérieurs à l'an mil relatifs aux églises de Limoges', *Recueil des travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel* I (Paris, 1955), 387–400.

strove to demonstrate that its use of rhythmic prose (the ‘cursus’) proved that it could not be later than 614, and even that it must have been a source for Gregory of Tours, rather than the other way around. However, these arguments—as well as those for a somewhat later seventh–eighth century date—have been successfully discredited.

The ‘antiquior’—to be dated about 800—tells how St. Peter himself summoned Martial and entrusted the Limoges mission to him; how (‘ut vulgi fama testatur’) one of Martial’s two priest-companions died on the journey, and was restored to life by Martial wielding St. Peter’s own staff loaned him for the purpose; and how Martial ordered that the noble Christian girl, Valeria—who had been killed by her pagan fiancé in anger at her vow of virginity and renunciation of their engagement after her conversion—should be buried in the tomb that had been prepared for his own corpse. When he died, his body rested in the same tomb as hers, and eventually the two priests joined him there. The author of the ‘antiquior’ peppers his tale of Valeria’s death and burial with such phrases as ‘ut aiunt’, ‘perhibetur’, ‘ut fertur’, indicating if not a certain scepticism about her, at least perhaps a consciousness that the story—like the miraculous revival of Martial’s companion—was a recent one. The two priests are still without names, but we have now at least met Valeria, in whose honour Adémar would later compose one of the two Offices we have mentioned earlier. As an appendix to the ‘antiquior’, seven new miracles attributed to St. Martial were added to the three attested by Gregory of Tours.¹⁷

17. For the ‘Antiquior’, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* [hereafter *BHL*], 2 vols. and supplement (Brussels, 1898–1911), no. 5551. Text edited from the newly-discovered Karlsruhe manuscript and the two tenth-century manuscripts known previously (Paris BN MS. lat 3851A and Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Farfa 29) by C. F. Bellet, *L’Ancienne Vie de S. Martial et la prose rythmée* (Paris, 1897), pp. 32–40; see also his *Saint Martial, Apôtre de Limoges suivi d’une nouvelle étude sur le cursus et la critique* (Paris, 1898) and ‘L’Age de la Vie de Saint Martial’, *Revue des questions historiques*, Nouvelle Série XXIV [LXVIIe de la Collection] (1900), 5–40. In pushing for an early date for the ‘Antiquior’, Bellet was joining the chief contemporary defender of St. Martial’s apostolicity, the Abbé F. Arbellot: see notably his *Étude historique sur l’ancienne Vie de St. Martial* (Paris, 1892). The opposition was led by the Abbé L. Duchesne: see notably, ‘Saint-Martial de Limoges’, *Annales du Midi*, IV (1892) 289–330, written before the discovery of the Karlsruhe manuscript, and

We first learn the names of Martial's companions from a 'life' of one of them, St. Alpinian, possibly older than the 'antiquior' and presumably to be dated before the year 851, when the Saint's relics were transferred to Ruffec, since the author speaks of them as still in Limoges. This life also names the other companion, St. Austriclinianus, in honour of whom Adémar would compose the second Office. Valeria's 'life' belongs to a time before 985, when her relics were transferred to the abbey of Chambon. After her execution, she picked up her severed head and carried it to St. Martial, which led to the remorse and conversion of her pagan former suitor and murderer, 'Duke Stephen'.

By the second half of the tenth century new fortifications surrounded the abbey of St. Martial and its surrounding dwellings. This 'castrum' came to form a separate and rival community to the immediately adjacent city of Limoges proper with its cathedral dedicated to St. Étienne, whose bishop was the dominant figure. A great fire burned down St. Martial's church in 952 and necessitated a major rebuilding on a much larger scale. The cult grew steadily and was given a notable impulse at the time of the terrible plague, the 'feu des ardents' that ravaged Limoges in 994. All the bishops of Aquitaine gathered in Limoges, and the body of St. Martial was raised from the tomb and displayed to the public: 'all were filled with an immense joy, and all illness everywhere ceased and a pact of peace and justice was mutually sworn between the Duke and the great lords'. The fame and importance of the abbey was growing rapidly. And as part of his enhanced prestige St. Martial now acquired a new 'life', perhaps because, as Adémar later said, the local manuscript of the 'antiquior' had been burned in the fire.

This new life, the 'prolixior'—which survives in at least six eleventh-century manuscripts and many later ones—purports to be by the Roman Aurelian, a pagan priest of Limoges, and is

Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, 2nd ed., II (1910) pp. 104–17. Even the most sceptical recent scholar, Abbé L. Saltet, 'Une discussion sur Saint Martial entre un lombard et un limousin en 1029', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, XXVI (1925), 161–86—referred to with his later articles below—accepted (p. 165) a seventh-century date for the 'antiquior'. But this cannot be substantiated.

therefore sometimes called the 'pseudo-Aurelian'. In the 'prolixior', St. Martial becomes a contemporary of Christ himself; his parents—Marcellus and Elizabeth—are two Jews of the tribe of Benjamin converted by Christ's preaching along with their son, Martial, Joseph of Arimathea, Zachaeus, and others. At the age of fifteen, Martial attaches himself to his cousin, St. Peter (he is also a cousin of St. Stephen) and thereafter he is associated with the twelve apostles. Martial is present when Christ raises Lazarus from the dead; he holds the napkin at the washing of the feet at the Last Supper; he sees the disciples touch the wounds of Christ come to life again. Present at the Ascension and at Pentecost, Martial receives the same mission as the Apostles and the same inpouring of the Holy Spirit. It is from Antioch—where he preaches with Peter as he does at Rome—that Martial takes Alpinianus and Austriclinianus on the mission not merely to Limoges but to all Gaul. The miracle of the dead companion raised by Peter's staff is now localized at Else in Tuscany and told of Austriclinianus. In Limoges, the cast of characters is considerably enlarged; Valeria is joined by her mother Susanna; Martial causes the lightning to strike dead the two chief priests of the idols, Andrew and Aurelian, but revives them, and Aurelian becomes his biographer. Duke Stephen appears as Valeria's fiancé and murderer, and—after his conversion—is summoned to Rome to serve Nero. Instead he brings all his troops as converts to Peter and is absolved of his guilt. Martial's miracles are more numerous than ever before and told in considerable detail. When he dies—in the third year of Vespasian (72)—Aurelian succeeds him as bishop; Andrew presides over the clergy of St. Peter of the Sepulchre.

So vigorous is the imagination of the Pseudo-Aurelian that even the most dedicated nineteenth-century supporters of the apostolicity of St. Martial never made a remotely plausible attempt to defend it as an authentic document. The Abbé Duchesne once attributed it to Adémar himself, but later abandoned the view, which nobody today would defend. But it was the text on which Adémar, born in 988, was brought up, and he believed that every word of it was literally true. Liturgical texts familiar to him from his boyhood as *nutritus* in St. Martial's abbey, where his uncles were so prominent, called Martial the

Apostle of Aquitaine and even of all Gaul. A surviving charter of the year 950 calls him 'discipulus Christi'.¹⁸

V *St. Martial's apostolate: Adémar's letter*

Paris BN MS. lat. 5288, fols. 51–58, in Adémar's own hand, contains the only known copy of his long unfinished letter dated September 1029 and addressed (as from Adémar of Angoulême, 'ultimus presbyterorum') to Bishop Jordanus of Limoges, Abbot Odolricus of St. Martial, a number of other Limousin clerics, and four great personages of the outside world: the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II, his Empress, Cunegunda, Duke William of Aquitaine ('grammaticus orthodoxus'), and Pope John XIX.¹⁹ Now forty years old, Adémar declares that he had rejoiced at the action of Jordanus, Odolricus, and the other clerics at a Council held in Limoges in August. Here, by no means embarking on a new practice but 'recovering the truth', the clergy had recognized that St. Martial—as attested by the ancient tradition of our Fathers and the true assertion of the Greeks—was a 'naturalis' apostle and not merely a confessor. Martial was duly being called 'apostle' in all the now revised

18. Life of St. Alpinian, *BHL*, 308, *AASS*, April III (1680), p. 480; a reviewer of Lasteyrie in *AB*, XX (1901), 217 regards it as Merovingian but later than Gregory of Tours, and 'unfortunately unimportant'. Life of Valeria, *BHL*, 8475; BN MS. lat. 2786A is of the late tenth century; see 'Miracula Sanctae Valeriae Martyris Lemovicensis . . .', *AB*, VIII (1889), 278–84 and *AB*, LXXV (1957), 380. For the fire and plague, works cited in note 16 above; quotation on the plague from Adémar, *Chronique*, Book III, ch. 35, Chavanon p. 158; Lair pp. 168–70, redactions A and C only, not in H. The 'prolixior' or pseudo-Aurelian life of St. Martial is *BHL*, 5552; the reviewer of Lasteyrie dates it about 955 (*AB*, XX (1901), 217); text in L. Surius, *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, VI, Junius (Cologne, 1617) pp. 365–74 and—from a previously unused manuscript, British Museum, Cotton Claudius A 1, fols. 82–95 of the twelfth century, with collations from four other manuscripts—in W. de Gray Birch, 'Vita Sanctissimi Martialis Apostoli. The Life of St. Martial by Aurelianus . . .', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXVIII (1872), 353–90, later published as a book, *The Life of St. Martial* (London, 1877), unavailable to me in that form.

19. *MPL*, CXLI, 89–112; on the MS., see Delisle, pp. 342–3. By far the best discussion is that of L. Saltet, 'Une discussion sur Saint Martial entre un lombard et un limousin en 1029', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, XXVI (1925), 161–86; 279–302. What follows here is a mere précis of the text, intended to illuminate Adémar's frenzied efforts at self-defence.

litanies in Angoulême (to which Adémar had returned), and everything was going well, when suddenly there appeared at St. Cybard two of its own monks who had been visiting in a monastery called Bussièrès near Limoges, and had there been corrupted by a devilish heretic from Lombardy disguised as a monk. Now these two convinced the monks of St. Cybard—except for Adémar himself and Gauzbert—that they should change the litanies back again and call Martial ‘confessor’ only.

At Bussièrès the heretical Lombard, Adémar says, had taken advantage of the presence of many clerics from Angoulême, Brantôme, and Limoges who had come for the celebration of the Virgin’s natal day. He denounced the new practice of calling Martial an apostle: a mass so offered, the Lombard said, was ‘filth and vain, just as if someone put a lump of dirt on the altar’. Aquitaine was sullied by the new heresy, and if the local bishops and abbots were not ignorant men (*rustici*) they would have called a church council when it first arose, in order to excommunicate Odolric and his monks, who had established a false apostle in order to make money. Rich, proud, and inhospitable to strangers, they had no authority for their action except a forgery kept ‘in a hidden place like a piece of counterfeit coin’. They had manufactured their own apostle.

I, the Lombard, had said,

am a very learned man. I contradict them. I declare that St. Martial is in no way an Apostle. I say that his entire life is false, that he was never in the flesh a disciple of Christ, never at the Last Supper, gave no help to the Lord in the washing of the feet. . . . Jesus alone laid aside his garments and took a towel and girded himself, alone poured the water into the basin. . . . I was in Limoges a little while ago when . . . these monks carried their counterfeit apostle to the bishop’s throne. There the canons of St. Stephen, because they know that I am a very wise man, begged me secretly to destroy this apostolate, and . . . those foolish and illiterate monks [of St. Martial] tried to argue with me, but instantly fell silent . . . ashamed . . . frightened, and could produce no authority in ancient books or litanies that preached that he was an apostle.

And when a certain Adémar who seemed to know something of letters and who was the first to found this heresy—with no ancient authority, but for the sake of adulation so that he might please the abbot and the monks—and who had also been corrupted by them with money, was stupidly arguing that Martial ought to be called an apostle and wanted to debate with me, he did not know how to answer my very first argument and wickedly hid himself in confusion, fleeing from my learning, and I could not see him again . . . that foolish Adémar will never dare argue with me again, but if he should, I shall not strive against him with words but, as if in a trial by battle, send my champion against his champion, and mine will win by means of oaths made upon the sacraments above the altar.

Blasphemy, says Adémar, of this speech. Standing inside the Cathedral of Limoges next to the bishop's throne, gazing reverently upon the body of St. Martial which had been placed upon the altar preparatory to the ceremonies, and awaiting the entrance of Bishop Jordanus, already robed to say mass, Adémar had been called by two monks to debate with this Lombard Antichrist. Adémar said that Christ in the flesh gave Martial the power of binding and loosing; the Lombard reiterated that Christ gave that power to the eleven apostles only, adding 'Truly, Martial was never preached as an apostle until yesterday you invented the whole affair'. When Adémar declared that the writer of Martial's *Vita* lived at the time of the apostles and 'more clearly than light' declared Martial's apostolate, and that our forebears in their responsoria and hymns and writings had done the same, the Lombard instantly called for written evidence: 'Let the books come (*veniant libri*)'.

'The bishop is about to go in to mass,' Adémar replied, 'and there are too many people for us to debate here. Wait until tomorrow, and I will show you the evidence of the books in which you will find that Martial was written down as an apostle in litanies and elsewhere. Books,' added Adémar, 'cannot come unless they are brought (*delati*)'. The Lombard misunderstood Adémar to say not *delati* but *deleti*: destroyed, or he may have deliberately lied, but in any case when he went back to Bussières he said that the books had been destroyed. Before he

left—‘sneaking into the crowd like a guilty dog’—the Lombard, upon asking where there was authority for more than twelve apostles, was properly abashed by being shown the scriptural passage (Luke 10:1) declaring that the Lord had named an additional seventy-two. The conversation—Adémar maintained—ended with the Lombard’s admission that Adémar was speaking reasonably.

Late the same day, when Vespers were over, and Adémar was happy at all the joyous celebrations in honour of St. Martial as an apostle, the Lombard re-emerged from the crowd. Forgoing the opportunity to converse with his own noble relatives who had come a long way for the service, Adémar—now in the chancel of the cathedral—re-embarked on the debate, not realizing that there was a Manichaean concealed behind the Lombard’s monkish appearance. Adémar now showed him the ‘very ancient volume of the life of St. Martial’, which he summarizes: it was clearly the pseudo-Aurelian. After reading it, the Lombard ‘could not deny that Martial was a true apostle of God . . . and yet he spewed forth falsehoods saying, “Some people say that the old *life* of Martial perished in the blaze when this place caught fire, and that in that *life* none of these things might be read . . . and that a certain monk of this place made up this life with its adulatory lies. . .”’. Impossible, said Adémar: this present monastery was founded only 160 years ago, although Martial died 954 years ago; and the *life* (pseudo-Aurelian) is read in Gaul and Spain and Britain, and many churches had it before the fire we had here: it is and must be true. If it is, said the Lombard, Martial was a real apostle. Next the sceptic was shown an old breviary with an ancient responsorium saying, ‘Glorious is Martial the apostle of Gaul . . .’, and admitted that indeed the passage was old. Finally, he was handed an ‘ancient hymn sequence in the same volume, written in old letters, saying, “The dwellers in heaven hail him as their fellow, and all Aquitania as its apostle”’. This he also found convincing.

‘I know no other evidence,’ said Adémar: ‘Nescio aliud’. And, feeling that he had done his job, he dined with Odolricus and returned to Angoulême the next day after catching a final glimpse of his opponent—‘the Lombard dog’—but without further discussion. ‘Had I known who he was, I would have

delayed a whole year in Limoges . . . for, coiling back upon his scaly snakish neck, he later publicly declared that he had offered to do battle with me about the blessed apostle Martial, but that I had immediately run away.'

After his return to Angoulême, Adémar found himself engaged in a new debate with a physician, Bernard, a monk of Ravenna, who had accompanied the Lombard to Bussières: we now first learn that the Lombard was named Benedict and was prior of Cluse: so we now appreciate an earlier sly pun made in passing: the man should have been called accursed (*maledictus*) which was true, rather than blessed (*benedictus*) which was false. Filled with Benedict's arguments, Bernard reiterated that 'the *Vita* of Martial that exists in this region is not the earlier one but a new one worked up by some monk about one hundred years ago, and wholly different from the one they have in Lombardy which says Martial is a peer of St. Apollinaris [the first bishop of Ravenna, whence Bernard came] and of Saints Front [Périgueux], Sernin [Toulouse], Denis [Paris], Austremoine [Auvergne], Hilary [Poitiers], and Martin [Tours]'. Martial was a disciple of Peter and not of Christ himself. With a sneering smile, Adémar denied it all: even if it were true, Martial could in any case properly be called an apostle because he had converted a whole province (Gaul), like Mark in Egypt. Some fifteen years ago, Gerald, Bishop of Limoges, had found by chance in Rome a book which declared that Martial had preached Christ's faith at Ravenna before he ever came into Gaul: a shrewd hit at Bernard, the Ravennate physician, who venerated Apollinaris as the first to convert his native city. Even Gregory the Great, Adémar continued, though he lived 500 years after the first apostles, is rightly venerated as an apostle in England because he was the first to convert the province, although not in person. Diminishing the claims of each of the other saints mentioned by Bernard (Front, for example, born in Périgueux, was brought up there as a Christian and so could not have founded its church) Adémar reiterated that Martial alone was a true apostle.

Ten years ago, Adémar remembered, a monk of St. Martial, though unlettered, had confounded a learned visitor who disbelieved in Martial's apostolicity by showing him a series of frescoes in the ancient basilica of the Saviour, adjacent to Martial's church and above the crypt where his tomb lay. The

church itself was threatened with ruin because of its age, and the frescoes were dim. But one could see scenes from the life of St. Martial as described in his *Vita* by Aurelian. Bernard demanded written proof, but did not wait for Adémar to produce it for him. Benedict, he assured Adémar, was everywhere denouncing the practice of calling Martial an apostle: according to Benedict, it would make a great scandal and touch off a persecution of the offenders. 'O,' said Adémar, 'a tongue to be cut out and devoured by dogs.'

Then his letter becomes a diatribe: if he himself and the monastery of St. Martial and the entire city of Limoges were to be consumed by fire, those who loved Martial would still beg him as their apostle to intercede with Christ for them. Frantically repeating that Christ was Martial's own master, charging that those who denied it and put him first among the confessors instead of last among the apostles where he belonged were the unlettered ones (*rustici*), proclaiming, 'How many learned men in the past have sung in the sight of God, "O how glorious is the mighty soldier Martial the member of the *collegium* of apostles. . ."', and ironically asking, 'Shall . . . learned Catholics now because of a single uneducated Lombard abandon the ancient truth of our Fathers?', Adémar then imagined that Martial himself might appear to him and ask, 'What do men say that I am?', and launched into a long imaginary answer to the saint.

In the course of it he reaffirmed his own passionate belief in Martial's apostolicity, prayed that all who disbelieved it might be damned 'at the moment of the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ [*anathema maranatha*]', refuted Benedict, who had said that at the Last Supper there had been nobody present save the twelve: surely Christ had dined 'liberally like a King,' and so there *were* servants there, of whom Martial was one. Rehearsing again all the details of Martial's life according to the pseudo-Aurelian, Adémar reveals his own deep anxiety: Benedict had threatened to denounce him to the Pope and to bring down excommunication on all of Aquitaine. But since 'Peter venerates thee as his fellow-apostle, let not the Pope deny that thou art truly an apostle'. Surely it will not be possible for the Pope, a human being who in time will be eaten by worms, to excommunicate Martial and Christ and the Holy Spirit and all

of Aquitaine and God's church? If to call Martial an apostle be a sin, then 'I, the true worshipper of Christ, Adémar, . . . desire that I may have this sin upon me now and for evermore . . . if it be harmful to the glory of God or to Martial himself or to any of the saints . . . to preach that he is an apostle, then in this very hour . . . let me die. . .'. But Adémar survived his dramatic gesture: 'Christ wishes me to live'. This proved that Martial was truly an apostle.

This emotional climax passed, Adémar reverted to Benedict of Cluse and his atrocious behaviour at Bussièrès. For forty days in August and September, gorged with food and drunk with unmixed wine, he would order the monks' reader in the refectory at lunch and dinner to be silent, and would make such fun of Martial as an apostle that the monks were overcome with noisy laughter: I, he said,

am the nephew of the abbot of Cluse, who took me himself to many places in Lombardy and France to study grammar; and my education cost him 2,000 gold pieces. . . . For nine years I studied grammar, and I am continuing my studies even now. . . . I have two big houses full of books and I have not yet read all of them, but every day I think about them. There is no book in the world that I do not own. When I have finished my education there will be nobody under heaven as learned as I. . . . These stupid Limousins who say that in France St. Martial is preached as an apostle speak falsely, for I lived in France for many years and I never heard his name in any of the litanies. France knows nothing about him; knows not whether he be an apostle or a confessor or a martyr. He is not remembered even on his natal day. . . . Who dared to preach that he was an apostle without the previous assembly of a great general council of all the bishops of Gaul and Italy together with the Pope of Rome, in which it might be proven whether or no Martial is an apostle? I am so learned that I well know how to sway such a council. . . . In Aquitaine there is no learning; everybody is illiterate. And if any Aquitanian does learn a little grammar, soon he thinks he's Virgil. . . . I shall bring such a charge against Aquitaine that not a single Aquitanian cleric will be able to protect himself. I shall either go in person to the Pope in Rome about their presumption or

I shall send him the kind of letter I well know how to draft. This Pope is a harsh man indeed and a savage one, hot tempered and rough in his ways, and as soon as he hears that a new apostle has been established in Gaul he will excommunicate all the bishops and all the churches and monasteries of all Aquitaine, so that no holy services may be celebrated in them until this whole affair is done away with, and everybody shall have done public penance for it. And thereafter he will put a clause in his will requiring future excommunication, so that no such presumption can ever take place in the future.

All this and more Adémar learned from the two monks of St. Cybard, returning from their visit to Bussièrès, where they had heard Benedict (that 'devil's mousetrap') themselves. Never had they heard anybody so learned: he talked all day without tiring and bossed the monks of Bussièrès as if he were their abbot. Vainly Adémar tried to persuade the two monks that not garrulity but silence marked the truly wise man. Benedict had convinced them that it was wrong to call St. Martial an apostle: even the monks of Limoges at Martial's own shrine, they told Adémar, would within a few days abandon the practice, and revert to calling Martial only confessor, and the whole world would make fun of them for ever having called him an apostle.

In despair Adémar expounded to these two 'pseudo-monks' a vision in which he had seen them as two small nasty snakes, whose even more disgusting mother was Benedict. 'I do not wonder,' he said to them, 'that in a single moment you abandon on behalf of an unknown teacher the good cause which I for so long a time persuaded you to adopt, I, who have not been unknown since my boyhood': better never to have begun calling Martial an apostle than to stop doing so. Poor Adémar: still another monk, Salgionius from St. Jean d'Angély, interrupted the monks of St. Cybard during mass when he heard the name of Martial sung as the last of the apostles, and loudly sang his name among the confessors instead. And later, when Adémar protested, in the presence of the abbot and the other monks, Salgionius simply asked, 'Shall we now say what has never been said before?' Gauzbert, a monk of St. Cybard, replied that once on a journey to Rome, he heard the private chaplains of an

important German count include the name of Martial among the apostles when saying the litanies of the saints. Then Salgionius himself—astonishingly—told how, while on a voyage to Jerusalem, he too had heard a monk of Reims, a most able grammarian named John, mention Martial as an apostle in his daily shipboard devotions. But when Gauzbert said, ‘Unless I had heard it myself from foreigners speaking a barbarous tongue, I would never believe he was an apostle. Why then do you oppose it, since you too heard it from foreigners?’ Salgionius answered, ‘Because this has never previously been a custom among us, and all our bishops and abbots are sad about it and want to send letters to the Pope to forbid this new presumption’.

Better to obey God than the Pope, responded the defiant Adémar. No Pope was ever given the power to absolve or to excommunicate the apostles of God. And when Salgionius asked Adémar why he had begun the whole affair without papal permission, Adémar could only ask in return ‘Why were you, a canon, made a monk without the pope’s permission?’ and once more rehearse the testimony to Martial’s apostolate. What need of mortal blessing from a Pope has St. Martial who was blessed by Christ himself? And if, as Salgionius said, the secular princes were denouncing the practice of calling Martial an apostle, Adémar countered by reminding him that many who had heard Christ himself or his apostles preach the word of God refused to receive it.

This extraordinary letter can never have been sent. It is incomplete, and Adémar—it is plain from the manuscript—added interpolations to it at leisure from time to time. Moreover, the text itself indicates at the very outset that he may never have intended to send it, at least to the most eminent addresses: ‘I do not wish those among you with whom I have never yet spoken about the apostolate of St. Martial—I mean three of you, the pope, the emperor, and the Duke of Aquitaine—to be surprised that I have included their names, if perhaps these words should ever reach them, but wish their gracious approval of my truthful statements’. Perhaps when Adémar began the letter he did regard it as a record to be sent to Jordanus, Odolricus, and the other local clerics, but almost surely, as he proceeded, it became instead a source of private comfort to him,

a work destined to repose indefinitely in his own notebooks with his (undelivered?) manuscript sermons. The passionate denunciation, at the end, of any pope who might disapprove the practice of venerating St. Martial as an apostle confirms the supposition that the letter was certainly not intended for the eyes of the pope or of anybody else.

Adémar's egotism is everywhere apparent. The modest reference to himself as 'ultimus presbyterorum' does not deceive us. Even his opponents are made to single him out: Adémar is the only respectably educated man in Aquitaine; Adémar had invented the 'heresy' of Martial's apostolate. Virtually singlehanded Adémar had brought about the great celebration in the Cathedral church of St. Stephen at Limoges when Martial's corpse was placed upon the altar and his name was shifted in the litanies from its former ('wrong') place as first among the confessors to its new (or rather proper traditional but forgotten and neglected) place as last among the apostles. Adémar alone bore the brunt of the defence against Benedict, Bernard, Salgionius, and the two wretched monks of St. Cybard who had shifted their position under the impact of Benedict's flood of learned denunciation 'like the waters of the Tigris river'. It is Adémar who has the vision of St. Martial and addresses his long *cri de cœur* directly to him; Adémar who calls on God to strike him dead if he is wrong, and who is triumphantly vindicated when he survives: 'Christ wants me to live. It pleases Christ that we praise Martial as an apostle'; Adémar who tells his (imaginary) correspondents at the beginning of the letter that he is forty years old, and at the end that it is he, he, Adémar—I who have not been unknown since I was a boy—who had convinced the monks of St. Cybard of Martial's apostolicity.

With astonishing frankness Adémar puts his opponents' excellent case: the life by Aurelian is untrue, say Benedict and Bernard rightly. They know that it is not the same as the earlier life allegedly lost in the fire, which did *not* say that Martial was a contemporary of Christ but that he was converted after the ascension by St. Peter, or—as Bernard maintained—that he was a contemporary of other later saints including three of the seven of Gregory of Tours. Adémar, who had egged on the clergy of St. Martial and the other Limousins, had 'founded this heresy



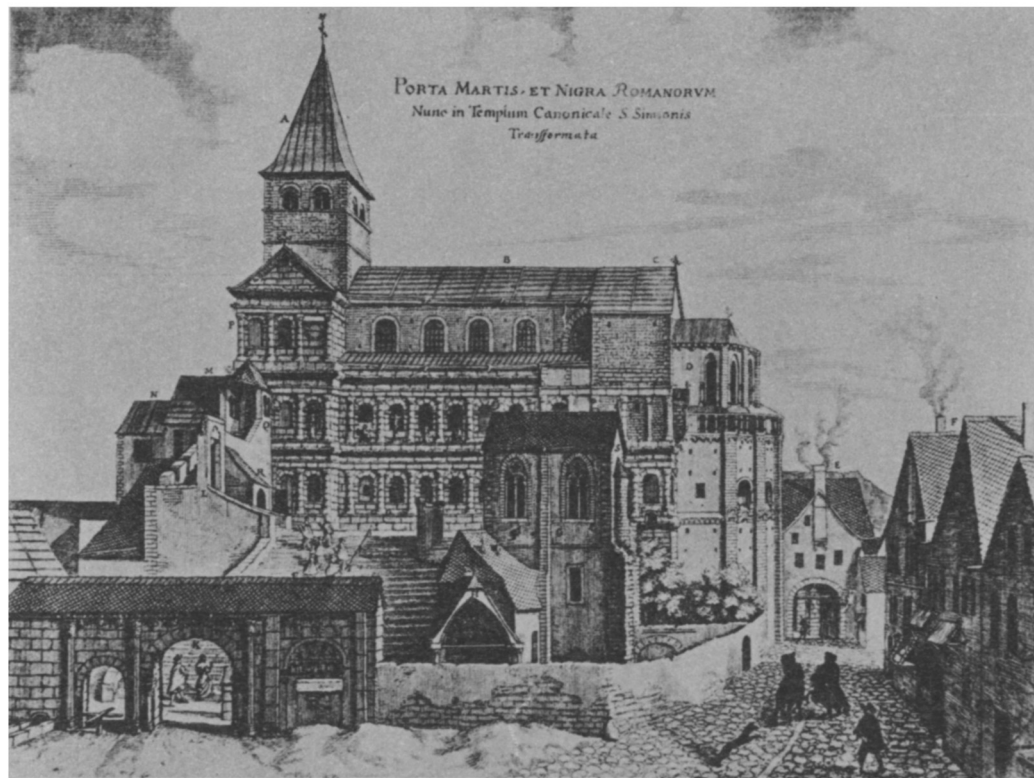
Adémar of Chabannes, self-portrait, lower right of plate labelled 'Auctoris Gratiarum Actio' (the action of the author rendering thanks), R. Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften* (see note 14), reproducing Leiden, Voss. Lat. 8vo 15, fol. 43r.



Adémar of Chabannes, self-portrait, 'Ademarus', to the right of St. Cybard's right hand and crozier, D. Gaborit Chopin (see note 14), reproducing Paris, BN MS. lat. 3784, fol. 99v.



Seal with portrait of St. Symeon of Sinai and Trier, perhaps drawn from life, N. Irsch, 'Das Bildnis' (see note 29) from Treasury of the Cathedral of Trier.



View of St. Symeon's church built atop the Porta Nigra at Trier, as it looked in 1646, etching on copper by Casper Merian. *Die Porta Nigra*, ed. E. Gose (see note 29), II, plate 1.

for the sake of adulation and to please the monks'. Benedict added that abbot Odolric and his clergy had done it for money. No doubt new opportunities of adding landed property to the monastery's possessions would arise, and the offerings from pilgrims to St. Martial's tomb would be increased if the saint were recognized as the only one in Gaul to be a true apostle of Christ. Benedict charged that Adémar himself had been corrupted by money (which we need not believe).

Moreover, behind Adémar's great barrage of quotations from scripture and the fathers and his furious denunciation of Benedict and all opponents of Martial's apostolicity as vile heretics, he could not conceal the feebleness of his own case: it rested on the pseudo-Aurelian, on a single responsorium in 'an old breviary of the apostle's sepulchre', and on 'an ancient hymn sequence in the same volume, written in old letters'. After that, 'Nescio aluid', said Adémar himself. Recently it has been established that folios 59–85v of Paris BN MS. lat. 909—an early troper of St. Martial—consist of addition to the volume made entirely in Adémar's own hand. They include an entire new Mass for Martial as an apostle ('Probavit eum Deus') which replaces the former mass for him as bishop and confessor ('Statuit ei'). Moreover, Adémar added 'apostolic emendations', to the old St. Martial office and composed 'an entirely new set of apostolic tropes' in order to lend 'liturgical credence' to the new custom adopted by the council at Limoges. So we are justified in asking whether the 'old Breviary' produced for Benedict by Adémar, that practiced scribe and composer, may not have been his own handiwork. All through the sacred books of the Abbey, Adémar scratched out the word 'confessor' after St. Martial's name and substituted 'apostle'.²⁰ We are at liberty to wonder whether Benedict ever did say, of the pseudo-Aurelian, 'If this life is true, Martial is truly an apostle', or—after a look at the 'old Breviary'—whether he really seemed to accept that as well. Perhaps Adémar invented Benedict's sudden about-face, especially since Benedict did not in fact change his mind. Perhaps Benedict wanted to get away from the frantically obsessed Adémar at almost any cost and tried a half-evasive pair of seemingly conciliatory answers.

²⁰. Emerson, loc. cit. (n. 13 above), pp. 33–5 and note 17; the new apostolic mass for Martial on fols. 70v–72:6.

As to the argument from custom—we have never done this, nor has anybody else; why should we do it now?—all of Adémar's counter-arguments are drawn from individual experiences remote in time or place and allegedly remembered at a providential moment in the debates. At the very beginning of the letter, he adduces 'the ancient tradition of the fathers' and—in an interpolation—'the true assertion of the Greeks (*assertio vera Grecorum*)'. Pseudo-Aurelian, he says, was read in Britain, Gaul, and Spain before the fire at St. Martial. He suddenly remembers that fifteen years ago Bishop Gerald of Limoges (now dead) had 'by chance' found a book in Rome that told how Martial had preached at Ravenna before coming into Gaul, thus casting a doubt on the priority of Apollinaris, Bernard's own beloved local Ravennate 'apostolic man' (but no apostle). Next Adémar remembers how ten years ago a doubting grammarian had been convinced of Martial's apostolate by some frescoes of scenes from his life (since destroyed) that were 'old five hundred years ago'. Gauzbert remembers that 'once (*olim*)' on a journey to Rome he had heard a German count's chaplains call Martial an apostle. And Salgionius himself, doubter though he is, is made by Adémar to 'remember' that a French monk from Reims on a voyage to Jerusalem had done the same: to the Aquitanians, both the German and the Frenchman are 'foreigners (*alieni*)'. All of these bits of 'evidence' have this in common: they cannot be verified. They were included to soothe Adémar's own fears and feed his fantasy.

Clearly Adémar was frightened. His influence and pressure had promoted the ceremony of 3 August 1029 when the body of Martial was ceremonially brought to the altar of St. Stephen's cathedral, when Jordanus preached the apostolate, and when the local liturgies were altered. There was opposition: perhaps it was true that Jordanus' own clerics of St. Stephen of Limoges themselves had begged Benedict of Cluse to stop the innovation. We know of the natural tension between the secular clergy of Limoges and its cathedral and the monks of Martial's abbey and 'castrum'. The appearance of Benedict at Bussières as an outspoken visitor from Lombardy (had he been snubbed by the Odolric and the monks of St. Martial, whom he calls inhospitable and haughty?) was something for which Adémar could not have been prepared. To find the liturgical changes

reversed almost before they had been adopted was bad enough. But Benedict threatened also to take the matter to the pope and to a church council—as should have been done before the liturgy was altered. The pope, he warned, was a fiercely stern man and would excommunicate all of Aquitaine. And he, Benedict, knew just how to manage a church council. Where would Adémar be then? He tries to brazen it out: alone if necessary he would hold out for Martial's apostolate in defiance of any merely mortal pope. Even if he did not fear pope and council, he surely hated the ridicule implied in the raucous laughter of Benedict's audiences at Bussières, a ridicule which, it was predicted, would engulf all Aquitaine, as learned men laughed at the 'rustici' whom Adémar had taken in. Adémar's anxiety—hardly less pathological than his extraordinary egotism that had prompted his enterprise on behalf of Martial—shows through clearly. He wrote as much of his letter as survives, left it in his notebook, and then considered what he might do next in self-defence.

VI *St. Martial's apostolate: Adémar, Pope John XIX, and the Council of Limoges of 1031*

Pope and Council: both, Benedict of Cluse had declared, should have been consulted before Adémar's campaign was launched, and both, he threatened, would soon denounce and ridicule the apostolicity of Martial. Yet, far from denouncing it, John XIX wrote a letter to Bishop Jordanus and all the bishops of France (Galliarum) vigorously defending it. Martial was indeed an Apostle, the Pope wrote, 'as we have found in his *gesta*', and went on to summarize the pseudo-Aurelian. Those of Jordanus' flock who called Martial a confessor and not an apostle were raving madmen. There were more than twelve apostles: 'the name of apostle is not the name of a number but of a function (*officii*)'. And John XIX solemnly decreed that 'apostolic titles should be bestowed upon Martial in the divine mysteries' and stigmatized as 'envious' those who tried to deny him this dignity. To increase Martial's fame and the reverence paid it throughout the world, the Pope had ordered that a most beautiful altar to him be built in St. Peter's itself and dedicated on the day of the saint's nativity.²¹

21. Jaffé 4092; Mansi, XIX, 417; *MPL*, CXLI, 1149–50.

Accepted as genuine until 1926, John XIX's letter was then—in an article often overlooked—conclusively proved by Louis Saltet to be a forgery by Adémar. In style and wording it corresponds with Adémar's other writings on behalf of Martial's apostolicity, and bears no resemblance to those of Pope John XIX or, indeed, to any genuine letters from the papal chancery. In one of his unpublished autograph sermons Adémar refers to this papal letter and remarks that Martial's enemies—'more bitter than hellebore and harder than stone—have refused to obey the Pope's authoritative pronouncement, even forbidding the letter to be read or listened to', hardly a credible response to a genuine papal document. Elsewhere in the sermons Adémar boasts that he himself had written to the Pope requesting an official pronouncement on the question of St. Martial, and had received an answering letter from the Pope, a wholly improbable initiative for a simple monk of St. Cybard: even had he written, the Pope would hardly have answered him. That Adémar was driven literally insane by opposition to his cause he tells us himself in still another unpublished autograph sermon. Likening such opposition to smoke, he says, 'Such smoke is poisonous to me, bringing wildness of the brain and alienation of the mind'. That he would cheerfully go to the length of forging a papal letter to soothe his outrage is also abundantly clear. Twice in his autograph sermons, for example, he inserted into texts, which he believed to be genuine epistles of Pope St. Clement I, his own testimony about St. Martial, thus putting it into the mouth of St. Clement. These are only two of many cases in which he systematically altered texts by the interpolation of such material of his own. While the forged letter of John XIX does not come down to us in Adémar's own autograph, its two earliest manuscripts are both closely associated with the Abbey of St. Martial.²²

Saltet believed that Adémar had circulated this forged papal letter; that contemporaries, recognizing it as a forgery, had

22. L. Saltet, 'Une prétendue lettre de Jean XIX sur Saint Martial fabriquée par Adémar de Chabannes', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, XXVII (1926), 117–39. For a comment on the dangers of neglecting Saltet see M. Coens, 'La "Scriptura de Sancto Fronto Nova" attribuée au Chorévêque Gauzbert', *AB*, LXXV (1957), 343–4 and p. 343, notes 2 and 3, in which he properly takes to task Dom Henri Leclercq. L. Duchesne, 'Saint Martial de Limoges', *Annales du*

refused to obey its commands or allow it to be publicly read; and that this refusal had heightened Adémar's bitterness. Yet Saltet himself was here taking Adémar's own word. Does it not seem more likely that—like the unpublished and undelivered sermons and the unpublished long letter describing Adémar's debates with Benedict of Cluse, Bernard of Ravenna, and Salgionius—the forged letter of Pope John XIX remained among Adémar's papers unpublished and unknown? Adémar, we know, obtained gratification from imaginary victories and so, we suppose, he imagined the stubborn refusal of St. Martial's foes to accept his manufactured papal letter, which in fact they never saw. If contemporaries had received the letter and suspected Adémar of forging it, would they not have responded by disciplining the forger, and not contented themselves merely with refusal to accept the forgery? Once we know the letter to be Adémar's forgery, and suppose it to have gone unread, we realize that any other contemporary document citing it must also have been by Adémar. And this proves to be the case.

In forging a letter from Pope John, Adémar gave himself only the first of the two defensive weapons he needed against the onslaught with which Benedict of Cluse had threatened him. The other was a decree from a council of the church accepting St. Martial's apostolicity. And Adémar forged such decrees also, ingeniously inserting them into the canons of the Council of Limoges, held on 18 and 19 November 1031, whose proceedings have come down to us in one manuscript only, once again an autograph manuscript of Adémar himself, Paris BN MS. lat. 2469.²³

Of the fifty-seven columns of its text as printed in Migne, about thirty deal with the question of St. Martial's apostolicity.

Midi, IV (1892), 321–2 and 321, n. 1, still believed the letter of John XIX genuine, despite his deep suspicions of Adémar. The papal letter appears in the Bible of St. Martial (Paris BN MS. lat. 5, II, fol. 130) and in a hagiographic manuscript (BN MS. lat. 5240) also from St. Martial.

23. This is the manuscript also containing forty-six of Adémar's sermons. The Acts of the Council of Limoges are the forty-seventh and last item of its contents running from fol. 97 to the end, but incomplete at the end, as the manuscript was even when first noticed in the seventeenth century; Delisle, pp. 276–96. Text in *MPL*, CXLII, 1354–1400.

These, thanks once again to the Abbé Saltet, we now know to have been invented by Adémar. The remainder of the text, dealing with deliberations and enactments concerning the Peace of God, is accepted as genuine, even though this version in Adémar's own hand is the only one known. In the St. Martial portion—Adémar's 'masterpiece', Saltet calls it—Adémar inserted equally imaginary proceedings with regard to St. Martial which he represented as having taken place at earlier councils at Paris, Poitiers, and Bourges. The imagined conciliar deliberations and pronouncements about St. Martial will be found accepted as historical in standard modern scholarly works of reference. The only one of this series of Adémar's forgeries not to survive in his own handwriting alone is an 'edict' of Archbishop Aymo of Bourges (1031) confirming the decrees of the Council of Bourges on behalf of Martial's apostolicity. Everywhere it echoes Adémar; it cites his own forged letter from John XIX; the only text emanates from the same Bible of St. Martial in which the letter is also found. Its spuriousness is certain.²⁴

Solemnly convoked to discuss the Peace of God (as even Adémar himself declared in an unpublished sermon), the Council of Limoges under the presidency of Bishop Jordanus

24. L. Saltet, 'Les faux d'Adémar de Chabannes. Prétendues décisions sur Saint Martial au Concile de Bourges du 1er Novembre 1031', *Bulletin de littérature Ecclésiastique*, XXVII (1926), 145–60 and 'Un cas de mythomanie historique bien documenté: Adémar de Chabannes (988–1034)', *ibid.*, XXXII (1931), 149–62. This was in fact Saltet's final contribution to the subject, although he closed the article with the words 'À suivre'. He died in 1952 without completing his planned work (cf. *AB*, LXXV [1957], 343, n. 3). On the Peace of God in Aquitaine and the work of these councils, see R. Bonnaud-Delamare, 'Les institutions de paix en Aquitaine au XIe siècle', *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, XIV, La Paix, Première Partie (Brussels, 1962), pp. 415–88, who is unaware of Saltet's work on Adémar and accepts as genuine Adémar's account of the Council of Limoges. The discrediting of the portions of the record dealing with St. Martial, however, do not materially affect Bonnaud-Delamare's efforts to trace the development of the Peace of God. C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, tr. and ed. H. Leclercq, IV, 2 (Paris, 1911), pp. 936–9, 950–9, 1411–19 reflects the most advanced state of scholarship prior to Saltet and is now wholly inadequate. On Aymo's edict, Saltet, 'Faux', pp. 156–60; in the Saint Martial Bible (BN MS. lat. 5, II), fol. 130v. Leclercq's article 'Limoges' (above, n. 16), cols. 1149–53 still holds to the authenticity of the whole of Adémar's account of the Council of Limoges and believes (1142, n. 6) in the historicity of Adémar's invented Councils of Paris and Poitiers.

was first addressed—according to Adémar’s imagined record of its proceedings—by Abbot Odolricus of St. Martial, who asked that the question of St. Martial’s apostolicity be settled first. It had been delayed until the receipt of Pope John’s letter, so that nobody would say (as Benedict of Cluse *had* said) that the Limousins were proceeding rashly. Now this was the main order of business. Assenting, Bishop Jordanus (presiding oddly enough in the presence of his own superior, the Archbishop of Bourges), also mentioned the papal letter and the decree of the Council of Bourges, held only two weeks earlier, and asked that Martial’s apostolate now be confirmed for the third time. Into the imaginary debate that followed Adémar tirelessly but tediously re-introduced all his standard arguments, now dramatically put into the mouths of those present at the Council. Once again, as in Adémar’s own earlier letter, testimony is adduced from distant places.

The aged and learned Abbot Azenaire of Massai, near Bourges, is made to declare, for example, that in his own youthful days in France he had always heard Martial called an apostle; when he had become abbot at Massai and found that incorrect usage was in force there he had changed it. Moreover, when he had been in Constantinople as a youth before taking the monastic habit, and had heard mass in Santa Sophia on Pentecost, ‘I remember that I heard Martial being named among the other apostles after the twelve in the Greek litanies by the Greeks’. Here was a specific example of what Adémar in his earlier letter had vaguely called only ‘the true assertion of the Greeks’. That Azenaire’s speech at least was a figment of Adémar’s imagination the Abbé Duchesne recognized as early as 1892, while still accepting the records of the Council. Next Abbot Odolricus ‘remembered’ that the learned Abbot of Fleury, Abbo, and Gauzlenus, Archbishop of Bourges, had both long ago favoured Martial’s apostolate. He ‘recalled’ a quarrel at the court of King Robert of France between Frenchmen who were for apostolicity and Limousins who were against it. When a priest of Périgueux protested that his city’s saint, Front, could be called an apostle as well as Martial, the abbot of Solignac (says Adémar) reproved him as relying upon a new life of St. Front written for money by a former choirmaster of Limoges, Gauzbert: after all, had not St. Front been born in Périgueux,

and educated as a Christian there? How, then, could he have been an apostle, like Martial? Had he raised the dead, as Martial had done repeatedly?²⁵

The theme of ancient books, 'from France, from Spain, from England, all calling Martial an apostle', runs through the debate relentlessly imagined by Adémar. In England, emissaries of Abbot Odolric reported, Martial was called an Apostle in martyrology and litany. From England King Canute had sent William of Aquitaine a present of a codex written in letters of gold in which Martial was called an Apostle. Duke William (Adémar maintained) had displayed this book—which also appears in one of Adémar's sermons—before a Council at Poitiers, where he had defended Martial's apostolicity. At one moment, when Adémar is having Odolric list learned men who accept Martial's apostolicity, he actually includes Benedict of Cluse, whom by Adémar's own account in his earlier letter we know to have been a scornful and relentless enemy of it. How splendid, Adémar seems to have been saying, it would have been if there had been a great church council, where even Benedict of Cluse could be counted on the right side! Bishop Jordanus cited Pope John's letter. Bishop Aymo of Bourges summarized the

25. Adémar's sermon, BN MS. lat. 2469, fol. 89 r. See Saltet, 'Un cas . . .', pp. 154–5. Azenarius' speech, *MPL*, CXLII, 1356; Duchesne, in *Annales du Midi* (above, n. 22), pp. 323–4. Odolricus, *MPL*, CXLII, 1356–8. The clerk of Périgueux and his discomfiture, 1360–1. On this, see M. Coens, 'La Vie Ancienne de S. Front de Périgueux', *AB*, XLVIII (1930), 324–60 and 'La "Scriptura de Sancto Fronto Nova" attribuée au chorévêque Gauzbert', *AB*, LXXV (1957), 340–75. Cf. also A. Vaccari, 'La leggenda di S. Frontonio', *AB*, LXVII (1949), 309–26. The earlier life (ninth-century) is crudely cobbled together, but Front's miraculous revival of a dead disciple may in fact have preceded the earliest such tale about Martial. The second life, which Adémar charges was bought from Gauzbert, was discovered by Coens himself. It removes the inconvenience of having Périgueux a Christian town before Front was born and his parents Christian, and has him baptized by St. Peter on a trip to Rome. The two surviving manuscripts of St. Front's new life belonged—ironically enough—to the Abbey of St. Martial, and Adémar himself managed to perform upon them his usual 'gratinages' in honour of Martial the apostle. Gauzbert served under Bishop Hildegarius of Limoges, who died in 992. It was not until the end of the eleventh century that St. Front obtained a third life and received his final transformation into an oriental and a disciple of Christ himself, finally catching up to Martial. It was not only the men of Limoges who had mighty imaginations.

decisions of his own council only two weeks earlier. Here—Adémar makes him say—the papal letter had been read, and Martial vindicated. Jordanus then reminded the Council that two years earlier, at the earlier Council at Limoges (1029) at which Martial's body had been displayed (and Adémar had had his encounter with Benedict), anathema had been pronounced against all who refused to accept Martial as an apostle. The dispute had not died down, but the Pope's letter had now pronounced on the issue, and that was the stimulus for calling the present council. Thereafter in Adémar's scenario no voice is raised against the apostolate.²⁶

But for us the key passage in these deliberations imagined by Adémar comes when he has 'a learned clerk of Angoulême' intervene in the discussions and take over the Council to offer a dramatic new bit of evidence. Knowing Adémar as we do, we realize at once that he is once more, as so often in the past, writing about himself. Maintaining his anonymity but characteristically appearing clearly enough behind it, Adémar has the 'learned clerk'—himself—review the various personages in the Gospels with whom Martial might perhaps be identified. And then comes the surprise:

'Several years ago, some of the brothers of Mount Sinai by God's will came to this western region, men of sober

26. The 'evidence' from England, *MPL*, CXLII, 1368–9; on this, see F. Wormald, 'The English Saints in the Litany in Arundel MS. 60', *AB*, LXIV (1946), 72–86. In this mid-eleventh-century MS., Martial is mentioned as an apostle, which prompted Wormald to write an Appendix (pp. 84–6) on the subject. Taking Salter's articles into account, Wormald nonetheless points out that 'the Limoges claim must have reached England very soon after the promulgation of the apostolate of St. Martial, since there are five English manuscripts which are probably datable to the second quarter of the eleventh century whose litanies place St. Martial among the apostles.' The speed of the transmission Wormald attributes to the close relations between Canute and William of Aquitaine; our knowledge of these comes from Adémar's *Chronicon*. If Canute did send the illuminated manuscript to William he may well have had the text written in conformity with the new usage; for its appearance in Adémar's sermons (BN MS. lat. 2469, fol. 67v), Delisle, p. 290. Wormald also suggests that Odolric may have sent monks of St. Martial to England to raise funds for the rebuilding of the 'basilica' of St. Saviour, attached to the church of St. Martial. For Benedict of Cluse as a believer in Martial's apostolicity, *MPL*, CXLII, 1372; conclusion of discussion of Martial, 1376–83.

demeanour, exuding the teaching of the Catholic faith, in all respects honest in their way of life, skilled in both languages. Because they stayed a long time with us at Angoulême waiting for the prince of that city, and we saw that they were steeped to their fingertips in Greek and Latin letters, we took pains to interrogate them about this matter [i.e. Martial's apostolicity].'

At the time, says Adémar, he himself had carelessly adopted the ignorant view of the uncultivated and believed that Martial's claims to apostolicity were both vain and false. But when interrogated, the Greeks, 'one of them named Symeon, and the other Cosmas', answered together that indeed the Greek Church acknowledged Martial as one of the seventy-two apostles. 'When we said "We acknowledge none but the twelve"', the Greeks were horror-struck, thinking that these western churchmen were repudiating St. Luke, authority for the 'seventy-two'. And when Adémar said that he believed the seventy-two to have been disciples only, the Greeks shrank back, saying, "'The Greeks have always been wiser than the Latins and the Latin Scriptures are derived from a Greek source. Martial, whom we call *ho agios Martialios*, we truly know to be one of those seventy two, who with Peter sought to preach in the West, and whose *gesta* together with those of all the seventy two we have on Mount Sinai in our own language".'

What could be more powerful evidence than this? Having received it, 'the clerk' says, he studied 'the secret passages of ancient books' and gradually convinced himself that Martial was indeed an Apostle. Thus Adémar's imagination took a wholly new turn, in which he presented himself—that inveterate partisan of Martial's apostolicity—as a former doubter who had been prompted by the two monks of Sinai to go to (unspecified) ancient books and convince himself that they were right: Greek wisdom was stronger than Latin, and Martial was, after all, an apostle. What a marvellous treasury the Sinai library was: it possessed not only the *gesta* of Martial—presumably the pseudo-Aurelian—in Greek but those of all the other seventy-two as well!

In his investigations of Adémar as 'mythomaniac', Saltet never reached this portion of the imaginary happenings at the

Council of Limoges. The Abbé Duchesne—not troubling to identify the ‘clerk of Angoulême’ as Adémar himself or inquiring about the monks of Sinai—simply dismissed the clerk as ‘ou trompé ou trompeur’, since, in fact, no Greek list of the seventy-two had ever included Saint Martial. Only the Abbé Arbellot, convinced partisan into this century of the genuine apostolicity of St. Martial, writing in a provincial journal, challenged Duchesne, pointing out that Symeon, the monk of Sinai, was a genuine historic personage and had been made a saint in record time after his death in 1035. Wrong about Martial’s apostolicity, Arbellot was right about Symeon. Right about Martial’s apostolicity, Duchesne was wrong about Symeon.²⁷

VII *St. Symeon of Sinai and Trier*

It would be absurd to imagine that two Greek monks of Sinai, Symeon and Cosmas, ever told the ‘clerk of Angoulême’ what Adémar claimed to have heard from them about St. Martial. But they did indeed exist, and a remarkable contemporary life of Symeon is preserved, written by Eberwin, Abbot of St. Martin of Trier, at the urgent behest of Poppo, his Archbishop, immediately after 1 June 1035, the day when Symeon died, a holy recluse walled up by his own wish inside the most celebrated monument of the ancient Roman metropolis, the city gate, the *Porta Nigra*.

Born of a Greek father and a Calabrian mother in Syracuse, Symeon was taken to Constantinople at the age of seven by his father, who was about to go to war, and was educated there by learned men. The sight of westerners passing through Constantinople on their pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, moved the devout youth to take the journey himself. Putting aside the vanities of the world, he went to Jerusalem. For seven years he served as a guide to pilgrims there, after which he

27. Intervention of the ‘learned man among the clerics of Angoulême’, *ibid.*, 1362–8, the Greek monks of Sinai, 1363–4. Duchesne, *loc. cit.* (n. 22 above), p. 323. A. Arbellot, ‘Observations Critiques à M. l’Abbe Duchesne sur les origines de la Gaule et sur l’apostolat de Saint Martial’, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et historique du Limousin*, XLIII (1895), 125–82, pp. 152, 166–7. Neither Duchesne nor Arbellot recognized that the entire Martial episode in the ‘record’ of the Council was Adémar’s invention.

sought out a holy hermit living in solitude in a tower on the bank of the Jordan, and became his disciple. The hermit treated Symeon kindly—and once gave him a salutary rebuke for watching the young women coming to water their camels in the river—but then withdrew secretly to some still lonelier place, leaving Symeon bereft and determined to become a monk. After two years in the monastery of St. Mary at Bethlehem, he went to the famous monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai, where he remained several years before receiving permission to withdraw to a solitary cave in a cliff above the Red Sea. There a monk brought him bread; drinking water came dripping down the face of the cliff. But too many sailors sought him out; the monk who brought him bread grew tired; and Symeon returned to Sinai. Here, during a siege by the Arabs, amidst a great famine (100,000 died in Cairo), the small grain supply of the monks was miraculously preserved, and fed besieged and besiegers alike. After another period as a hermit in the desert, Symeon was ordered back to the monastery.

At that time the brothers who had been sent to the west to collect some money promised to the monastery by Richard, Duke of Normandy, died, and Richard sent to ask for a new messenger to collect it. Symeon was chosen and reluctantly agreed to go. Arrested in Cairo on false charges, he was cleared and sailed for Venice with another brother. The ship fell into the hands of pirates, and Symeon escaped the massacre of the crew and passengers by jumping into the Nile naked. When he reached shore, he could not understand the inhabitants 'though he knew Egyptian, Syrian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin'. But eventually he got to Antioch safely.

At this juncture there passed through Antioch a group of western pilgrims to Jerusalem led by Richard, Abbot of St. Vanne of Verdun, and including Eberwin the biographer himself. On their return from Jerusalem to Antioch, the western pilgrims, now fast friends of Symeon, took him with them on their journey so that he might fulfil his Norman mission. But at Belgrade the local prince—perhaps suspecting all Byzantine subjects—forbade him to continue with the others. Symeon had to reach the west via Rome. In France, he was graciously received 'by a certain Count William', and while he was in William's territories his fellow-monk, Cosmas, who had come

from Antioch with him, died. Recovering from his grief, Symeon alone pursued the journey to Normandy. At Rouen he found that Count Richard had died, and that nobody would give him the rents owing to the Sinai monastery. His mission thwarted, he decided to visit Richard of St. Vanne at Verdun.

Then he accompanied Poppo, Archbishop of Trier, to Jerusalem. On their return to Trier, Symeon asked permission to wall himself up in a little cell in the Porta Nigra. Poppo assented and walled Symeon up publicly on St. Andrew's day. Thereafter he ate and drank very little. The remainder of the *Vita*—so authentic because Eberwin, the author, knew his hero so well personally and quoted him directly at many points—tells of Symeon's arduous ascetic combats with the devil. The people of Trier venerated him. Eberwin himself witnessed his edifying death on 1 June 1035 and gives eloquent testimony to the miracles that followed.²⁸

During the summer of 1035 Archbishop Poppo wrote to Pope Benedict IX asking for a papal legate to help him deal with the disorders in his diocese (caused by the invasion of the Count of Luxemburg) and requesting the Pope to send along a decree canonizing Symeon, a copy of whose life by Eberwin Poppo attached, with the account of the requisite miracles. Benedict IX answered promptly and favourably, in a letter whose text was long considered a forgery, but whose authentic original manuscript was discovered in the early 1930s. It is the oldest surviving papal letter on parchment. The papal Bull of canonization was attached. Symeon seems to have achieved sainthood in the very year of his death, 1035.

Atop the Porta Nigra itself, a church of St. Symeon was built before 1041, becoming one of the most striking monuments of Trier. Though it underwent some architectural remodelling at

28. *BHL*, 7963, text in *AASS*, Iun. I (1695), pp. 87–107, with the seventeenth-century commentaries of Henschenius and Papebroch. Portions only (no new MSS.) in *MGH, Scriptores*, VIII, pp. 209–11. On this text—based on eight manuscripts—see M. P. Thomsen, 'Der heilige Symeon von Trier', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, LXXII (1939), 144–61 with partial German translation (hereafter Thomsen); M. Coens, in *AB*, LXVI (1948), 105; the same, 'Un document inédit sur le culte de S. Symeon moine d'orient et reclus à Trèves', *AB*, LXVIII (*Mélanges Paul Peeters*, II, 1950), 181–96 (hereafter Coens, 'Un document'). For other MSS. of the text—notably Trier 118 and 1384, see *AB*, XLIX (1931), 275 and LII (1934), 284, 158, 265–6.

intervals over the centuries, the church remained essentially intact until Napoleon ordered it removed. A visitor to the top level of the Porta Nigra, however, may still see its remains. Appended to one of the eleventh-century manuscripts of Eberwin's *Vita* is an Office of St. Symeon, drawing upon the *Vita* for its content and possibly written by Eberwin himself. Symeon's church became a leading centre of learning and influence in the archdiocese. His portrait appears on the seal of the foundation, and may well have been done from life. It shows him wearing a cap made of spirally-wound strips of camel's hair, which is still preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Trier. There too is the so-called 'Codex Sancti Symeonis', a ninth-century Greek lectionary.²⁹

In Symeon we have a cleric of Greek origin, speaking Latin, educated in Constantinople, experienced as a guide in Jerusalem, who actually did visit France. It was Richard II of Normandy whom he was seeking. Eberwin's account of Richard is confirmed by Radulfus Glaber, who says, 'every year, when monks from Mount Sinai came to Rouen they would bring back with them many gifts of gold and silver'. Richard also sent one hundred pounds of gold to the Holy Sepulchre. 'Generous in his almsgiving, broadly charitable, and outstanding for his probity', says Hugh of Flavigny, Richard paid the entire expenses of the Abbot Richard of St. Vanne's pilgrimage with seven hundred pilgrims. Legend transmitted by Hugh, writing

29. Poppo's letter to Benedict IX and the papal letter and Bull in AASS, Iun. I, pp. 96–7; papal letter and bull Jaffé, 4113 and 4112, with double dagger indicating spuriousness; texts also in H. Beyer, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelrheinischen Territorien*, I (Hildesheim, 1860), pp. 370–2, nos. 316 and 317. For the original manuscript of Poppo's letter, J. Ramackers, 'Analekten zur Geschichte des Papsttums im 11 Jahrhundert: I. Der älteste Papstbrief auf Pergament', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, XXV (1934), 49–56. On the chronology of the canonization, and on the newly-discovered Office, Coens, 'Un document'. On the church of St. Symeon, most recently E. Gose, ed., *Die Porta Nigra in Trier*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1969), with fine plates in Vol. II and (rather selective) bibliography of earlier works. For Symeon's seal, N. Irsch, 'Das Bildnis des hl. Simeon von Trier', *Trier, Ein Zentrum abendländischer Kultur*, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz (1952), pp. 175–9; for the cap and the codex, N. Irsch, *Der Dom zu Trier* (Düsseldorf, 1931), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, im Aufträge der Provinzialverbandes*, ed. P. Clemen, XIII, 1, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Trier* . . . I, 1, Der Dom, p. 323.

early in the twelfth century, declares that Symeon arrived in Rouen in time to see Richard and after a two-year stay bestowed upon the nearby monastery of the Holy Trinity relics of St. Catherine, martyred at Alexandria by Maxentius, which he brought along with him from Mount Sinai. But this is only Rouennais legend. Eberwin is to be believed when he tells us that Richard II had died before Symeon ever got to Rouen. Since Richard II died on 23 August 1027; Symeon did not arrive in Rouen until after that date.³⁰

Before Symeon went to Rouen, moreover, Eberwin tells us that he was well received by 'a certain Count William', in whose land Cosmas died. This was Count William IV Taillefer of Angoulême, who died on 6 April 1028, soon after returning from a pilgrimage of his own to Jerusalem. Turning back now to our quotation from Adémar's mention of Symeon in his account of the Council of Limoges, we find him saying that Symeon and Cosmas stayed at Angoulême 'a long time with us, waiting for the prince of that city'. And in his *Chronicon*—in passages later taken over into the *History* of the prelates and Counts of Angoulême—Adémar describes William's route (1027–8) to the East, through Bavaria and Hungary—now open to pilgrims for the first time because of St. Stephen's recent conversion—and his return to Angoulême via Limoges, where all the monks of St. Martial came out to meet him 'splendore festivo'. At the news of his imminent arrival in Angoulême, the clergy of St. Cybard in white vestments and with their various church ornaments set forth, singing lauds and anthems, to a point a mile outside the city. On Palm Sunday, 6 April 1028, William died. We cannot be sure that Symeon waited until William actually did reach home. But we do know that he was in Angoulême in 1027 and waited there 'a long time'. By late in

30. Radulfus Glaber, I, V, 21, ed. Prou, p. 20. Hugh of Flavigny, *MGH, Scriptores*, VIII, pp. 393–9. In addition to Symeon's life by Eberwin, Hugh (a great grand-nephew of Otto III and grand-nephew of Conrad II) was using a book he had found in a cupboard in Rouen. This is Rouen MS. U. 22, published and discussed by A. Poncelet, 'Sanctae Catherinae Virginis et Martyris Translatio et Miracula Rotomagensia Saec. XI', *AB*, XXII (1903), 423–38; see also R. Fawtier, 'Les reliques rouennaises de Ste. Catherine d'Alexandrie', *AB*, XLI (1923), 357–68. See Dom Hubert Dauphin, *Le bienheureux Richard, Abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun* (Louvain and Paris, 1946), pp. 306–8, and compare Thomsen, p. 153, n. 1; Coens, 'Un document', p. 183.

1028, Symeon had returned with Poppo to the Holy Land; by 1030 he was back in Trier and had begun his life as a recluse, which lasted until 1035.³¹

Cosmas and Symeon, monks of Sinai, *were* then actually present in Angoulême some four years before the Council of Limoges of 1031 and some two years after the death of Basil II. They surely did not tell Adémar that the Byzantines venerated St. Martial as an apostle. But we have every reason to suppose that Symeon did tell him about Hakim, about the miraculous repulse of the Muslim siege of Sinai, about the famine in Egypt, and about the inadequate restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, so well known to him as a guide. The freshness of Symeon's language in Eberwin's direct quotations from him to be found in his *Vita* suggests that he was just the sort of man to have used the salty proverb about the hare and the ox-cart while telling Adémar about the four recent Norman–Byzantine conflicts in south Italy. And the reliability of his information about the ascetic character of Basil II, about Basil's recent Bulgarian and Georgian wars, and about the death of Nicephorus Phocas (now two generations in the past) is just about what one would expect.

As testimony, then, to the character and preoccupations of Symeon, the straightforward and lovable polyglot Greek monk, we have the moving *Life* by his intimate friend, Eberwin, through whose text we so often hear the voice of Symeon himself. As testimony to the character and preoccupations of Adémar, the egotistical and obsessed 'mythomaniac' Latin monk, we have a quite unparalleled mass of holograph manuscript: in prose, in verse, with musical notation, with his own drawings. It is hard to find two men of the eleventh century whose personalities we can come to know more clearly, helped by such mementos as the ruins of the Church atop the Porta Nigra, St. Symeon's cap, and the portraits of both men: Symeon upon the seal of his foundation, and Adémar—characteristically—twice sketched by his own hand.

To demonstrate that they met one must first appreciate

31. *Chronicon*, III, 65–6, ed. Chabanon, pp. 189–92; ed. Lair, pp. 233–5; *Historia Pontificum et Comitum Engolismensium*, ed. Boussard, pp. 18, 21. G. Hofmann, loc. cit., n. 6 above, p. 225, dates the latter part of Symeon's activities too late. Thomsen and Coens are to be preferred.

Adémar's paranoid fear of ridicule and of punishment for his sponsorship of Martial's apostolicity, and recognize his practice of writing for his own solace plausible scenarios in which he himself produces new evidence for Martial and triumphantly convinces the Pope, a Council of the Church, even his own most determined opponent, that his cause is just. Once the St. Martial debate in the existing record of the Council of Limoges in 1031 is seen to be such a romance, one identifies Adémar himself as his own 'learned clerk of Angoulême', and realizes that his imagined conversations with Symeon and Cosmas about St. Martial provided just the sort of Greek testimony that would have helped Martial's cause had it only been genuine. Next, Eberwin's *Life of Symeon* shows that Symeon actually came to Angoulême at just the right moment, and that a real conversation between Adémar and Symeon was entirely possible. And finally we reach the hypothesis that when the two met, Symeon gave Adémar the four fragments of history from the East, whose presence in an otherwise largely parochial Aquitanian narrative initially aroused our curiosity, and one of which at least reflects unmistakably Symeon's own personal experiences and special knowledge.³²

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32. J. Ebersolt, *Orient et Occident, Recherches sur les influences byzantines en France avant les croisades* (Paris and Brussels, 1928), pp. 81–2 summarizes Symeon's *Vita* and, within a few lines, refers to the mention of monks of Sinai at Angoulême in the record of the Council of Limoges. But he never mentions Adémar or makes the connection between the two. H. Dauphin, *op. cit.*, n. 30 above, pp. 306–8 and P. M. McNulty and B. Hamilton, 'Orientale Lumen et Magistra Latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)', *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963, Études et Mélanges*, I (Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 195, 197–9, 207, 216 discuss Symeon, mentioning the 'clerk of Angoulême' who spoke of Symeon and Cosmas at Limoges, but without realizing that the clerk was Adémar or that Adémar had invented this part of the proceedings of the Council, still less that Symeon might have made a contribution to Adémar's *Chronicon*. McNulty and Hamilton also mistakenly substitute Count William IV of Poitiers for William IV of Angoulême, and have not consulted Saltet, Coens, Thomsen and other recent authorities. It is odd that none of these scholars found worthy of comment Symeon's and Cosmas' alleged 'testimony' that the Greeks regarded Martial as an apostle!